THE

GUARDIAN GENIUS

OF THE

FEDERAL UNION;

OR,

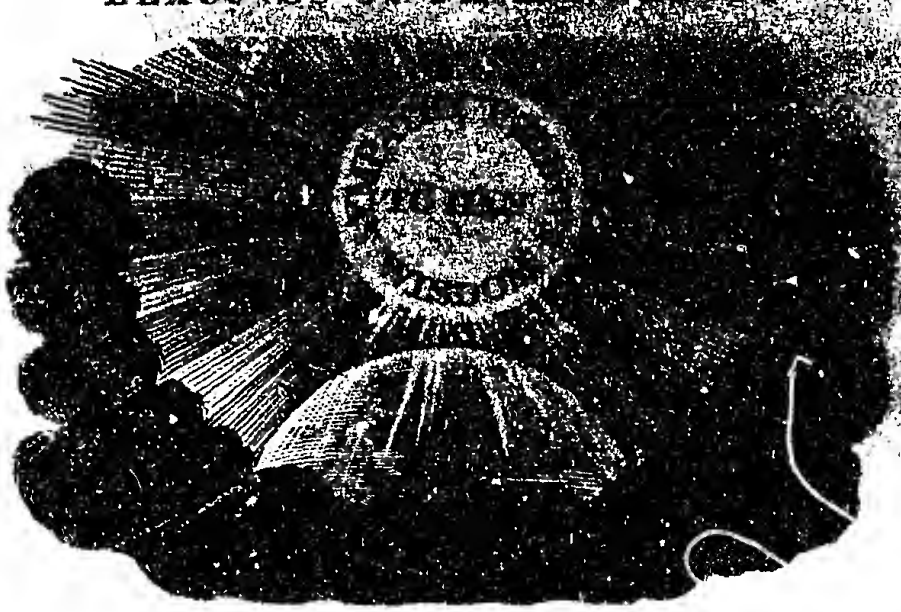
PATRIOTIC ADMONITIONS ON THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES,

IN RELATION TO THE EVIL SPIRIT OF PARTY, ARISING FROM THE ROOT OF ALL OUR EVILS,

HUMAN SLAVERY.

BEING THE FIRST PART OF THE

BEAUTIES OF PHILANTHROPY.



Freedom's glorious Sun, dispelling the black chaos of Slavery.

BY A PHILANTHROPIST.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1839.

THE GUARDIAN GENIUS

OF THE

FEDERAL UNION.

Justice recording the Voice of the People

AND

THE BEAUTIES OF PHILANTHROPY

(by which the author means HUMANITY,*)*

IS AN APPROPRIATE WORK IN WHICH TO EXPOSE

"THE PROGRESS OF CRUELTY."

The plates by the moral satirist William Hogarth, the explanation by the Rev. John Trusler. A few alterations in the plates and comments, are marked by brackets.

"These prints were engraved with the hope of in some degree correcting that barbarous treatment of animals, the very sight of which renders the streets of our metropolis so distressing to every feeling mind. If they have that effect in checking the progress of cruelty, I am more proud of being their author than I should be of having painted Raphael's Cartoons."

Hogarth.

THE FIRST STAGE OF CRUELTY.

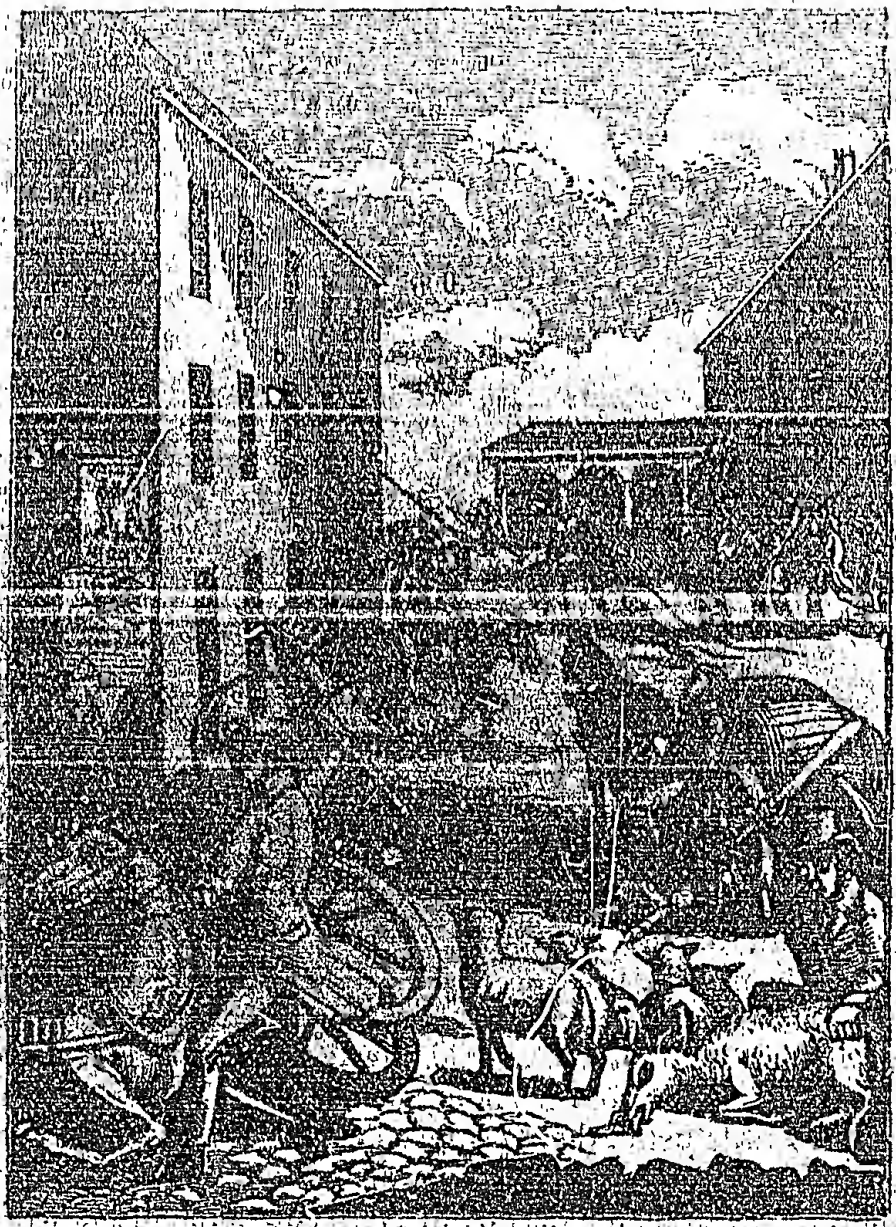
What various scenes of cruel sport
The infant race employ,
What future baseness, must import
The tyrant in the boy.

Behold a youth of gentler look,
To save the creature's pain,
'Oh take!' he cries, 'here take my book,'
But tears and book are vain.

Learn from this fair example, you
Whom savage sports delight,
How cruelty disgusts the view,
While pity charms the sight.

Humanity is the distinguishing attribute of the human species, yet how common is reckless and even studied barbarity! The cruelty of some of our pastimes is fitting our old English ancestors, the Goths, and Scythians; does not the epicure even torture his fellow-animal, to pamper his voluptuous appetite? People called civilized are still sanguinary, at the expense of all that is rational, humane, and religious. Here are seen children of various ages, engaged in different barbarous diversions; some solitary, some in groups. The wretch on the right-hand corner in front, is tying a bone to a dog's tail, in order to hurry it through the streets and enjoy its terror and pain; this cruel act [illegible] creature's turning [illegible] the boy's hand [illegible]; a refined [illegible]. On the left [illegible] one of the [illegible] the right [illegible] plates, [illegible] Roman [illegible] is about [illegible] rades [illegible] its neck. [illegible] half of the maimed, [illegible] other a book as a present, [illegible] shows not only the necessity of [illegible] also that general humanity should always be an essential constituent of education, without which, both boys and men would be little better than savages and brutes. Behind Nero, an arch lad has drawn on the wall a criminal hanging on a gallows: the probable destiny of Nero and some of his wicked companions. On the rear of the wall a young mob are suspending two cats together, and enjoying their agonies; above these is an infant philosopher throwing a cat from a garret window in imitation of those adult sages, who connect useless animal suffering with experiments. [Additions to the plate are, the urchin who has robbed a bird's nest; the other swinging a buzzing insect impaled at the end of a string; and the poor, inoffensive, decrepit woman, insulted, hooted and pelted by a gang of mischievous children: for

"Cruelty is the coward's vice."]



THE SECOND STAGE OF CRUELTY.

"The generous steed in feeble age,
Subdued by labor lies,
And mourns a cruel master's rage,
While nature strength denies.

"The tender lamb o'er-drove and faint,
Amidst expiring throes
Bleats forth its innocent complaint,
And dies beneath the blows.

"Inhuman wretches! whence proceeds
This coward cruelty?
What interest springs from barbarous deeds?
What joy from misery!"

The spirit of inhumanity exhibited in the first plate as growing up in youth, is in this ripened in manhood. The hero of our piece has become a hackney coachman, a profession which affords him an opportunity of displaying his brutal disposition. He is here shown cruelly beating one of his horses for not rising, though in its fall by oversetting the coach it has had the misfortune to break its leg. The lean, galled and starved appearance of the afflicted creature, is manifest proof of the habitual unkindness of its master. Pity it is, that such barbarous wretches should be suffered to live at large, or at all events, to have any control over sentient beings. However, his behaviour attracts the attention of a passer-by, who is taking the number of his coach in order to have him punished. The humane face of this man, opposed to the rigid one or other, affords a spirited contrast and in some measure brightens the scene. On the right is seen one of those inhuman wretches, who are so often permitted to drive cattle to exit from the slaughter house and market. He is beating a tender, over-driven lamb with a club-stick for not going on, and the poor, faint creature [illegible] with the fatigue and blows, with its entrails issuing from its mouth. Further back is a drayman or cartman drunk, riding on the shafts of his cart, the wheels of which are running over a child; while the contents of the casks he has in charge are being spilled; and for both of these accidents, occasioned by the criminal neglect of the cartman, the innocent horse will, as usual, be half murdered by his guilty driver. Still further back is a lubberly fellow riding upon an ass, and as if the beast was not sufficiently burthened, he has taken up a porter with a load upon his back, behind him. The overladen animal is ready to sink under the weight; the foremost rider beating, of course, while the man (brute) behind is goading him with a pitch-fork. In the back ground is seen a mob baiting and worrying a bull to the great terror and danger of the passengers.

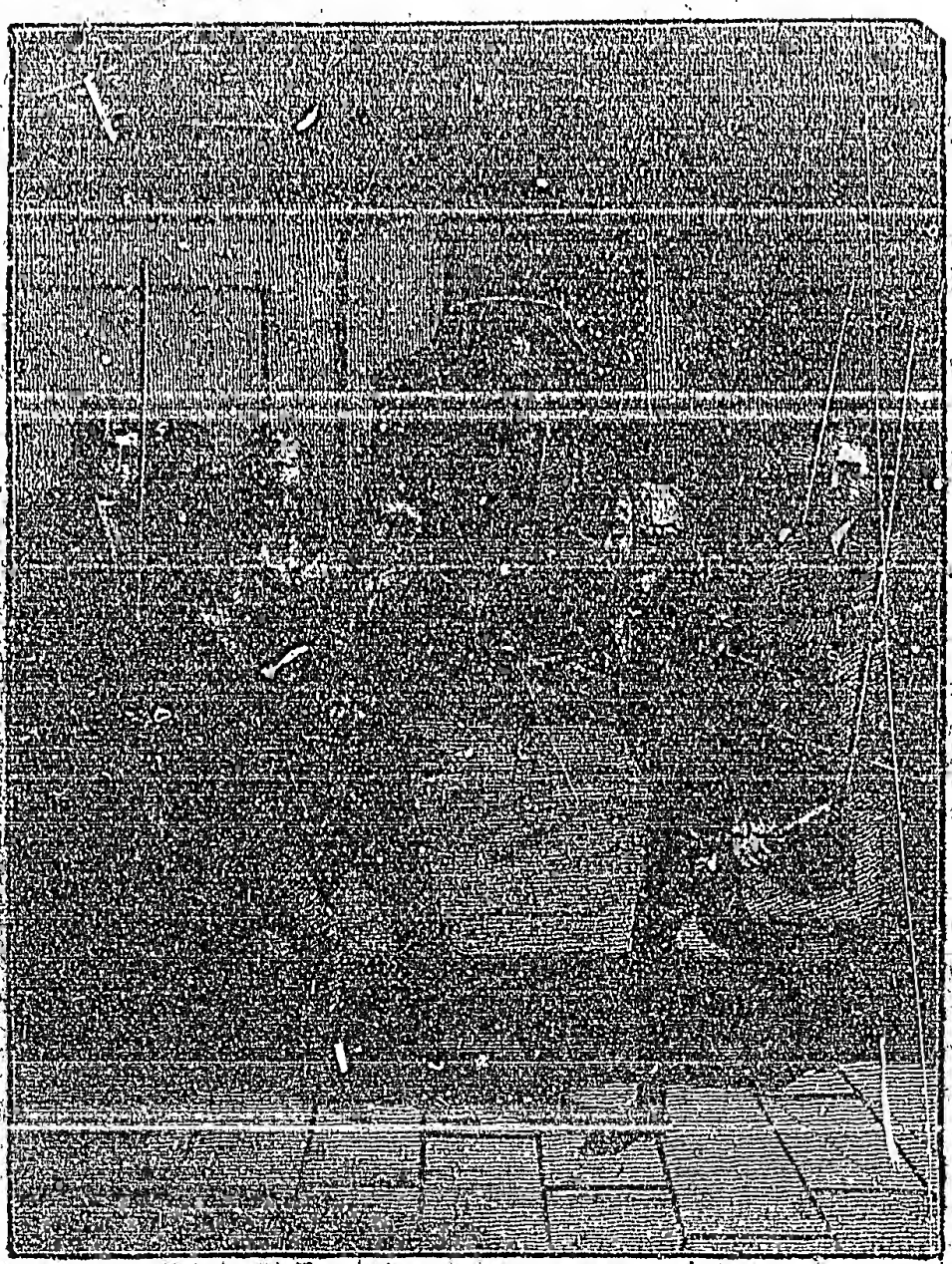
Continued acts of barbarity are found in time to divest men of their natural feelings; for he that would not hesitate to torture and destroy a helpless, harmless animal, would not but through fear of the law, scruple to torture and murder a fellow creature. Nay, the laws themselves are not able to prevent such horrid crimes, as the next plate shows.

CRUELTY IN MATURITY.

My conscience has a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villian.
Cruelty, perjury, in the highest degree;
Murder, stern murder in the direst degree,
All several crimes, all us'd in each degree;
Throng to the bar all crying, *Guilty! Guilty!!*
I shall despair—There is no creature loves me:—
And, if I die, no soul shall pity me:—
Nay, wherefore should they? *Shakespeare.*

As a hackney coachman his barbarity did not pass [illegible], his treatment of his horses became notorious and was attended with discharge from his place. [The skeleton, seen in the back ground, of one of his miserable victims, whom, we may imagine, he has murdered with starvation and ill-treatment, reminds us of this portion of his inhumanity.] Being therefore at a loss for maintenance, his wicked turn of mind soon led him to robbery upon the road, which is shown by the pistols and watch found upon him. During this iniquitious career, he deceived and betrayed a young woman by his false protestations; for baseness and duplicity are a common form of cruelty. Having gained the affections of this unfortunate female, he wickedly prevails on her to desert her friends, take the plate and jewels, and elope with him at midnight. She keeps the assignation faithfully, laden with valuables. Having predetermined to screen himself from detection in the robbery, and also to rid himself of the consequences of his seduction, he [illegible] by her murder! She struggles for her life and her shrieks alarm the family from their peaceful slumbers. They rush to her assistance, but arrive not until the vital spark has fled; in time however to secure the assassin. In a letter found on him, which is seen lying on the ground, she says, "My conscience flies into my face, as often as I think of wronging my best friends; yet I am resolved to venture body and soul to do as you would have me." Her confidence was indeed awfully requited by the unfeeling hypocrite. By this fell act, however, she was prevented from enduring that immensity of wretchedness and despair, which she must have suffered, had she lived and become the wife of such a depraved ruffian.

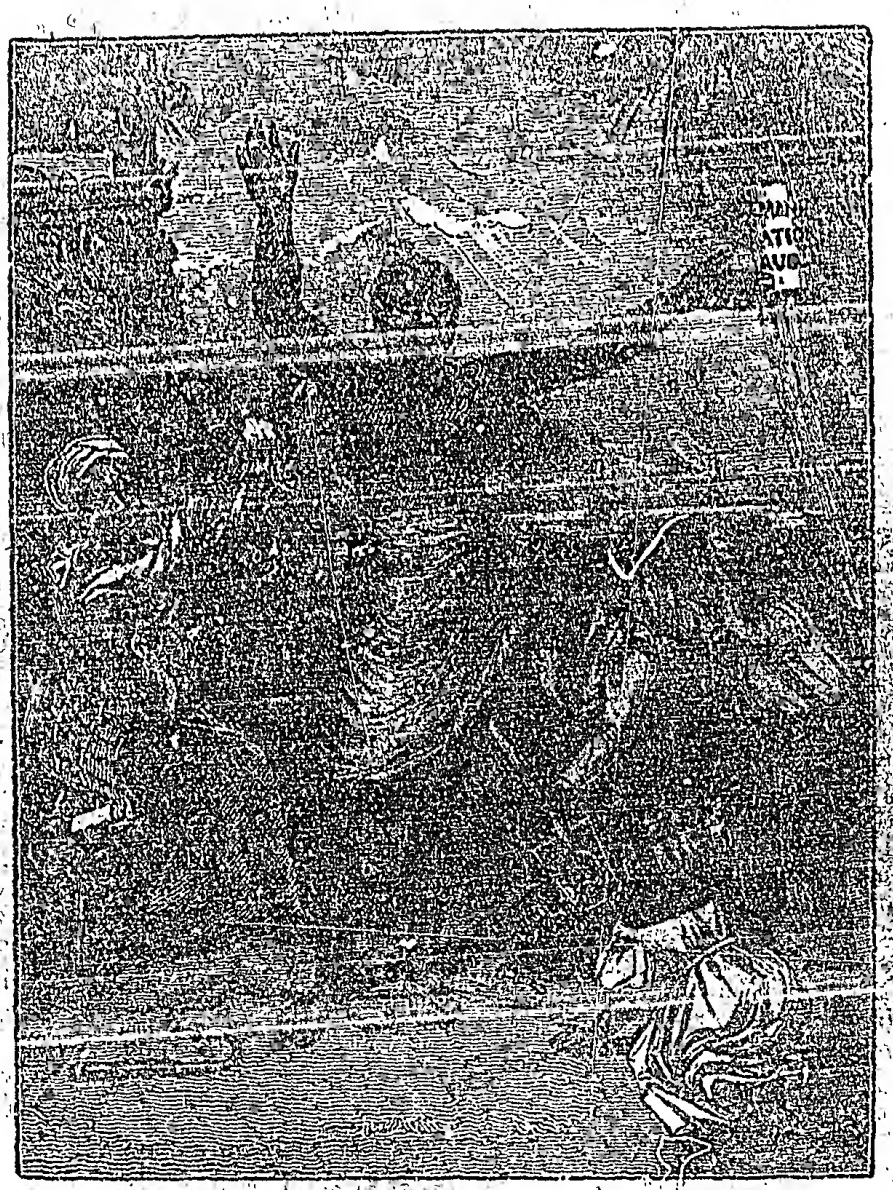
Behold, here, him who had no feeling for others, compelled at last to feel for himself: Confounded by the bloody knife, the confiding letter and all the various manifest proofs of his atrocity shuddering at the pallid, lifeless victim of his lust, avarice and reckless cruelty; astounded by the sights and cries of woe, from the agonized and horror-struck parents, relations and spectators. He is seized, bound and hurried to prison, to wait his trial, sentence and punishment, in all the horrors and dismay, which are the natural consequences of his atrocious crimes. [The female supporting the corpse and the mourner in the window, are additions.]



THE FIRST SCENE IN BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

Granville Sharpe rescuing a young African, claimed as a slave, from his tyrant, in presence of the Mayor of London. Sharpe pursued his humane course, and his elaborate researches produced the work entitled "The injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery," and procured the grand and glorious decision from the British courts of justice published in 1769 in the face of all Europe and the world, "That every slave was *free*, as soon as he had set foot upon British ground." This Herculean achievement laid the corner stone of the hallowed temple of African liberty [since extended to all British Territories.]

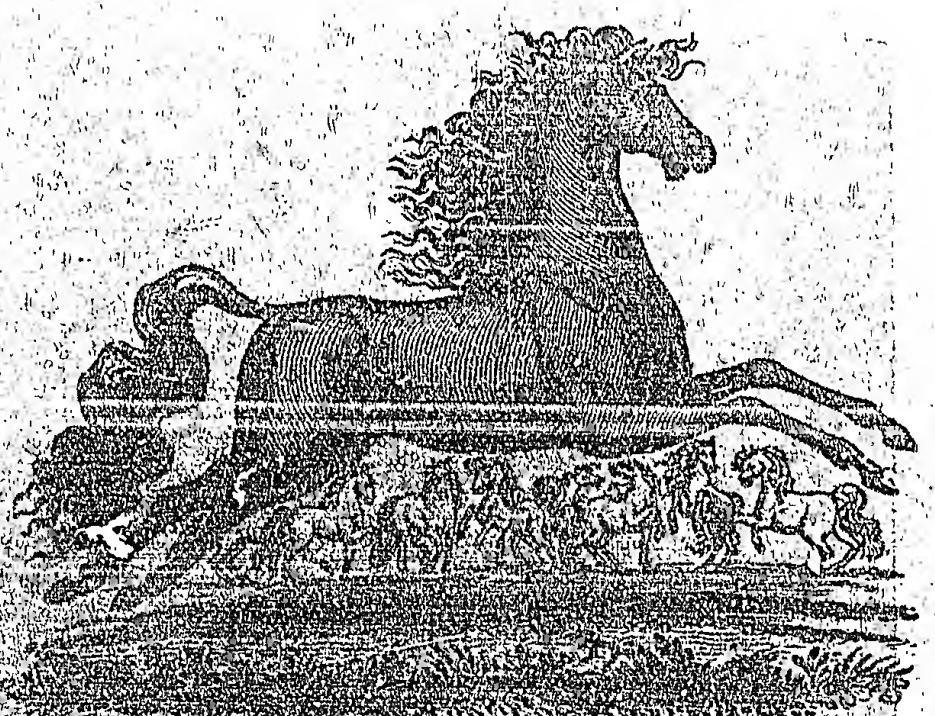
David Simpson.



THE LAST SCENE IN BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

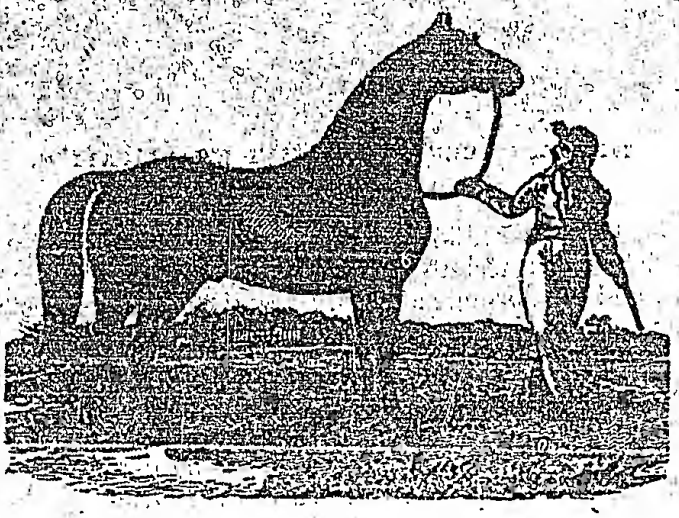
"After the 1st, Aug. 1834, SLAVERY shall be and is hereby utterly and forever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies plantations, and possessions abroad." *Act, 3d and 4th William IV.*

This noble Act was trammelled with an apprenticeship (to slavery to prepare its victims for freedom!) Antigua and Bermuda, declined the proffered continuation, with, of course, the happiest results. The Legislatures of Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, and the West Indies generally, have done likewise and on Aug. 1, 1838, three-fourths of a million of human beings were, by law, restored to their birth-right by Nature.



Even wild animals lose their spirit when deprived of their freedom. *Tacitus.*

The servitude of horses is so universal and perpetual, that we seldom see them in their natural state. When employed they are loaded with harness; in the seasons of rest, they are not entirely free from shackles; even even in the fields and pastures they carry the badges of slavery, and frequently bear the cruel marks of labor and pain. Their mouths disfigured with furrows, occasioned by the bit; their sides deformed with ulcers or cicatrices, from the spur; their hoofs perforated with nails, and their attitudes, by the continued pressure of the harness, cramped and constrained; even of those, whose servitude is of the easiest kind, being kept chiefly for show and magnificence, their gilded chains are not so much intended for an ornament to them, as to show the opulence of their master. *Buffon.*



MEMOIRS OF THE AUTHOR.

My father, Thomas Branagan, who was a person of property and respectability in the city of Dublin, where I was born, December 28, 1774, took great pains to give me a good education, but in vain; for, though he gave me in charge to the best teachers, I continued what is generally called a dunce, among my school-fellows, while many of them became proficients in literature; and the only cause I can assign, was the cruelty of the usher of a seminary to which I was sent, who used frequently to strike me upon the head on the most trivial occasions; and, in short, stupified me in such a manner, that I have been unable to repeat my lesson to him through dread and intimidation, when I had previously repeated it word for word to my school-fellow. Hence, I have frequently thought that the most immoral character is as fit to be a teacher for youth as a cruel and unfeeling man.

When about five years of age, I was bereaved of an affectionate mother, which was a great loss. During the early part of my life, I frequently felt tender impressions of a divine nature upon my mind, and often (though very young) have made the resolution, that when enabled to accumulate riches, I would present half to the Almighty, by distributing it amongst the poor, and administering to their necessities, as I thought this the most efficacious method of pleasing him. As all my relations were Roman Catholics, I was brought up very strictly in that belief, and frequently went to confess my sins to the priest.

When I was about thirteen years of age, I would not rest satisfied till my father permitted me to take a voyage on board the brig Bella, (of which he was part owner,) bound for Whitehaven, in England. I was extremely sea-sick, it being my first voyage; but that sickness, with all the dangers incident to a mariner's life, could not abate the cogent propensities I felt to see foreign countries. My father endeavoured to call my attention to literary pursuits, but in vain, for I afterwards made several voyages to Whitehaven, which only tended to increase the desire I entertained to see the world.

On my return from one of these voyages I obtained my father's consent to sail from Dublin for Seville, an ancient city of Andalusia, in Spain. After returning, and remaining at home for some time, I made a voyage to Chester, in England, for a load of timber, which we loaded at Ayr, in Scotland; but on our return, the vessel was stranded on the rocks, and sunk; in consequence of which, I returned to Dublin, in the brig Russel, Capt. Kirkwood, and, in the same vessel, sailed for Petersburg, a large and handsome city, the capital of Russia, built by Peter the Great, in 1703. Trade flourishes greatly here, because it is the seat of government, and foreigners have the same privileges as the natives of the place. On our passage, we touched at Elsinore and Copenhagen, the principal cities of Denmark, and arrived safe at our destined port without meeting with any event worthy of notice.

On my return home I went to school for several months, till the eager propensity to travel again was predominant; and after much entreaty on my side, and getting an intimate friend of my father's to solicit for my permission to take another voyage, he at length consented, and I embarked on board the brig Nancy, commanded by Capt. Brown, bound for Memel, a populous town of Prussia, in Poland, where we arrived safe, took in a cargo of timber, and returned to Portaferry, in Ireland, where I left this vessel, being ill-treated, and travelled by land to Belfast, and traded from thence to Londonderry and Carrickfergus in a small sloop, for some months; afterwards I sailed for Liverpool, and from thence to Dublin. Previous to my arrival, Capt. Brown had informed my father of my leaving the brig, who reprimanded me severely

for not giving him previous notice of my intention. I was so irritated at the reproval, that, in a few days after, I left my relatives and friends and went to Liverpool.

Necessity urged me to redouble my efforts to get a birth as a sailor, which soon offered on board the Ellen, a Guineaman, Capt. Clark, who proved to be a very moderate man to his sailors, which was a phenomenon indeed, as the captains who trade to Guinea, are, in general, the most unprincipled villains in existence: their cruelty to their sailors, as well as their slaves, is truly inconceivable, which the brevity of my plan forbids me to attempt to relate, much less declaim on the iniquity of the slave trade.

We sailed from Liverpool, A. D. 1780, and after a passage of two or three months, frequently stormy and sometimes becalmed, we arrived on the windward coast of Africa. We traded with the natives about half a year, and during that time visited several parts of the coast.

An adventure I met with while on the coast, proves to a demonstration the hospitality of the natives, who are treated with such inhumanity by Europeans. Being solicited by some traders to leave the ship and remain with them, I agreed to the proposal, having had some altercation with the chief mate about that time. Accordingly the next time I went ashore (in expectation of soon realizing a fortune,) I ran from the boat, and soon made the best of my way inland. I continued to wander through the woods for a considerable time, till I met with a few negroes in a small hut, feeding on boiled rice; having entered, they very kindly invited me to partake with them, which I did, and proceeded on my way through a lonely forest, occasionally eating the spontaneous fruits thereof. After travelling some time I arrived at a small cottage, and thinking myself out of danger, I stopped, being very cordially received by the negroes, who treated me with the utmost kindness, making me as welcome in their rural abode as if I had been a dear friend or relative. In this situation I continued till I was alarmed by a body of the natives who were in pursuit of me; to run or resist I found was in vain, I therefore informed them by signs that I would return without opposition. I accompanied them with terror and dismay, and after travelling for some time, recognised our vessel anchored close in shore, and shortly after, with

confused sensations, I found myself in the presence of the captain, who reprimanded me severely for eloping from the ship, which, to my no small disappointment, was the only punishment he inflicted upon me.

Our cargo being completed, we sailed from the Isles of Delos, and shaped our course for Grenada, with such a number of slaves on board, that there was not room for the sailors below, who were obliged to sleep on deck; we arrived at our destined port, after encountering tremendous gales of wind, with a variety of events peculiar to such voyages. After disposing of our cargo, the vessel was sold, part of my shipmates returned to Europe, while the rest, with myself, continued in the West Indies. Shortly after I went to the Island of St. Bartholomew's.

The next voyage I made was to St. Eustatia, the chief island belonging to the Dutch in the West Indies, containing about 5,000 whites and 15,000 negroes. I embarked here on board the sloop Peggy, for Savannah, Georgia, and returned, after escaping many alarming dangers on the American coast, to Montserrat, and from thence to St. Christopher's. After trading from island to island for a considerable time, I entered on board a schooner belonging to Surinam, and sailed in the Dutch government's service for several months, particularly to Cayenne.

During our stay here, some of my shipmates and myself went on shore to cut wood for our own use, where I was left to take care of the boat, which had a sail hoisted. Being stimulated by curiosity, I hauled the boat a little on the beach, and went after my companions. On my way, I looked back towards the place where I had left the boat, and, to my no small astonishment, perceived her sailing before the wind, a blast from the shore having carried her some distance. I stripped myself immediately and swam after her, expecting to overtake her, but soon found that she made the most progress of the two. After following the boat for a considerable time, I was caught where two eddy tides met, when a monstrous sea-cow arose on the surface of the water and snorted, at the distance of about two yards from me; being exceedingly terrified, and almost exhausted, I was on the point of sinking, when the captain of the garrison, who had been observing me with a spy-glass, and seeing my perilous situation,

sent a canoe with four men to my assistance, who picked me up, fainting with terror and exhausted with fatigue.

From this place I sailed once more for Grenada, on board the sloop Betsey, Capt. Gilbert, and afterwards proceeded to the Bahama islands, in the West Indies, lying to the north of Cuba and St. Domingo, called by the Spaniards, Lucayos. The Bahamas are said to be five hundred in number, some of them are only rocks, others very low and narrow. After touching at several ports of the Spanish Main, we arrived at Bermuda, where our vessel belonged, with a load of mahogany. My wages during the time I sailed with Capt. Gilbert amounted to about 60 or 70 dollars, of which I never received a cent, being defrauded by him out of the whole, and thus left in a strange place entirely destitute. Seeing no better prospect, I entered on board of an English privateer, that carried 10 guns and 60 men, which cruised off Cape François and Port-au-Prince.

While cruising on board this privateer we met with a tremendous hurricane, which had nearly put an end to our piratical career, and given us a mittimus to the prison from whence there is no redemption: in short, we were saved merely by cutting away our main mast, while the vessel was on the point of upsetting. After the storm was nearly over, I fell from the jib-boom while clearing the wreck, and could not be nearer meeting a watery grave than I was at that time. Next day we rigged a jury mast, and shaped our course for Bermuda, with the booty which we had plundered from unfortunate wretches whom we ought to have protected, instead of pillaging in such an unrelenting manner.

Though I was young at this time, yet I frequently thought that the profession of a privateersman was incompatible with the principles of moral rectitude, and no better than a genteel piracy, and accordingly resolved to relinquish the wages of iniquity and shun the devious paths of unrighteousness, as unjust in the sight of God and in the estimation of all good men. On our arrival at Bermuda, I immediately left the privateer, without receiving a penny of prize-money, which amounted to a considerable sum, having captured some rich prizes during our cruise. After remaining a few weeks in Bermuda, I sailed on board a flag of truce for Hispaniola, with a number of French persons, whom the Bermudian

privateers had previously robbed, and sent wretched and pennyless back to anticipate all the horrors of anarchy and intestine commotion. From this place I sailed, in the same vessel, to St. Vincent's; and after visiting several islands of the West Indies, I settled on an estate called the Villa, in Antigua, as an overseer, being then about twenty years of age.

I continued about four years on this island, during which time I experienced a variety of adventures, the diversity and peculiarity of my employment being truly remarkable. I have often felt for the situation of the poor slaves, and took every opportunity to ameliorate their afflictions, in some measure relieving their wants, though frequently in violation of orders I received, forbidding me to show the least lenity or compassion to them in their sufferings. After being impressed with a sense of the villany and barbarity of keeping human beings in such deplorable conditions as I often saw the slaves reduced to, I resolved to relinquish the situation I then held, though lucrative and advantageous. I was solicited very warmly, by a number of religious friends in particular, and my acquaintances generally, to continue; but, being necessitated from conscientious motives, gave up my situation, without any prospect of another, relying entirely on that Providence whom I endeavoured to please and obey. And I then resolved, that

"I would not have a slave to till my ground—
To carry me—to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake—for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd:
No;—dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
Just estimation priz'd above all price,
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him."

The evening prior to my departure from Antigua, I exhorted and prayed with, and for the slaves, and proceeded to take my last farewell, at which they seemed extremely affected, both old and young weeping bitterly; and, indeed, my own sensations on forsaking them, and a great number of respectable acquaintances and religious friends, may be better conceived than expressed; especially, when it is remembered that in so doing I threw myself upon an unfriendly

world, and laid myself open to the innovation of many dangers seen and unseen, and gave up a certainty for an uncertainty; but "conscience commanded, and conscience I had to obey."

I was enabled thus to relinquish the sanguine prospects of worldly accumulation, and sailed for my native place, having some affairs of my father's to settle, who had departed this life some years before. I arrived in Dublin, after a tedious passage and eight years' absence, and was received gladly by my relatives; but when they understood that I had forsaken the church of Rome, they persecuted me as a heretic, and defrauded me of my rights with impunity.

After remaining about a year in Dublin, I laid out my funds in purchasing some valuable articles, which I shipped on board the schooner Despatch, Capt. Barry, bound for Philadelphia, who was cast away near the capes of Delaware. Thus was I reduced almost to a state of penury and want, in a strange country, having nothing left but a few clothes, my watch, &c; but the Almighty can change curses to blessings.

From the prefixed account of my voyages and adventures, the reader may ascertain that I must have seen much cruelty exercised by adventurers from Europe over the poor Africans. Indeed, I may almost affirm, without passing the line of veracity, that mortal eloquence can never depict the cruel and shocking barbarities I have seen them endure.

The motives of my writings are briefly these: to justify the ways of God to man, inspire the human heart with gratitude to God, and sympathy for his enslaved creatures; to guard the only republic which the ravages of monarchy and craft have left in the whole world, from the deleterious innovations of apostate and prostitute politicians; to protect weak communities from the encroachments of the strong; the fair, affectionate, gentle sex, from the seduction of the coarse, cruel and unjust one; the innocent pupil from the flagellation of the unfeeling pedagogue; the docile, useful, generous ox and horse from the barbarous blows of the brutal drover and driver.

After travelling in my youth to many parts of the world, and nearly from the frigid to the torrid zone, I arrived at the city of brotherly love, and admired it more than any one I

visited, and made it the city of my adoption. Savannah, in Georgia, which I left nearly fifty years ago, I have compared to a rich, industrious, economical farmer's plantation, every thing was made for comfort, convenience, utility, and duration, and the people were hospitable; but Philadelphia I preferred, because slavery, which I detested, was abolished here. There were then, to the best of my recollection, but one capitalist, two banks, comparatively few brothels, grog shops, apothecary shops, and not one pawnbroker's shop in the whole city.

By contrasting the despotic governments of Europe with our federal government, I saw the supreme and superior excellency of the last, and became passionately enamoured with liberty and America. Some thirty or forty years ago, the legislature of South Carolina passed a law reviving the foreign slave trade. This intelligence grieved me, because I clearly saw that the extension of slavery in the only free country on earth, would not only endanger the integrity of the federal union, but finally ruin the republic.

My first work was entitled "A Preliminary Essay," on the oppression of the exiled sons of Africa, 278 pages, with an address to the legislature of South Carolina on the impolicy of reviving the foreign slave trade, proving that act to be as disgraceful to the present reputation, as it would be to the future prosperity and preservation of our republic. Also a letter to Napoleon Bonaparte, first Consul of France, proving that his anti-republican measures would bring sudden and certain ruin on himself and the French republic.

Notwithstanding the great literary imperfection of this work, it met the approbation of the first-rate politicians, particularly Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, who wrote a letter to his friend Dr. George Logan, then senator from Pennsylvania, expressing the same in the most friendly terms, and requesting him to read it to me, which he did, and became from that time my most generous patron.

Having read the most popular ancient authors, particularly Homer and Virgil in my youth, with great delight, I thought if the second greatest and most popular poet that ever lived, was tolerated by the vicious Romans in writing an epic poem in imitation of his master and model, the Grecian Bard, and avowedly to gratify the imperial pride and vanity of the de-

stroyer of the Roman republic—I flattered myself the virtuous Americans would tolerate an unpretending citizen to write a tragic poem, in order to point out the fatal rocks on which all the republics on earth have been shipwrecked; to guard the last remains of republicanism from the attacks of apostate and prostitute politicians; to consolidate, perpetuate, and hand down to posterity as a most sacred deposit, untarnished and unadulterated, the liberty and independence their forefathers fought, and sweat, and bled, and died to purchase for them: and last, though not least, to remove a bone of contention which I saw then would produce (as we all feel now) a bitter spirit of partyism, which has already endangered the integrity of the union; and I now clearly see and say, without a speedy remedy will, without any manner of doubt, destroy that glorious palladium of our independence. With these views, motives, and intentions, I wrote "Avenia," or a Tragical Poem, on the oppression of the human species, written in imitation of Homer's Iliad, with notes explanatory and miscellaneous, &c, 368 pages, published by the booksellers.

I then published myself, "Serious Remonstrances," addressed to the citizens of the northern states and their representatives, on the propriety, utility, and humanity of appropriating a few millions of acres of our useless fertile public lands, in a distant and salubrious part of our national domains, as a state exclusively for the coloured people, who have already or may hereafter emigrate from the south; 150 pages, &c.

Before the all-important Missouri question was decided in Congress, which eventuated in establishing slavery in the *new states*, instead of curtailing it in the old ones, a new edition of "*The Penitential Tyrant*, or, *Slave Trader Reformed*," 300 pages, was published by one of the best and brightest booksellers in America, Samuel Wood, Senr., a second Anthony Benezet. But, alas! it all proved abortive —the act was passed that gave the fatal blow at the root of the *tree of liberty!* that stabbed the vitals of the body politic —that applied an odium and stain to the reputation of the enlightened American republic, which time nor even eternity will never, can never obliterate! and at the very time the British parliament were making arrangements for the abolition of slavery in their colonies.

Although I hate all fighting, even between dogs, much more between men, and still more between father and son—still, when the late war was declared, before the Guerriere frigate was captured by the American frigate Constitution, when clouds and darkness rested on our political prospects, owing to the opposition of very many of our citizens to that measure; in that eventful period I took up my pen, (with as much patriotic ardour as any hero ever drew his sword to defend his injured country, or Mr. Paine grasped his herculean and patriotic pen to write his Common Sense and Rights of Man,) and compiled the most powerful arguments to vindicate the rights, justify the cause, and stimulate the courage of the American people. The work is entitled "The Pride of Britannia Humbled; or, the Queen of the Ocean Unqueened, by the American Cock Boats, or the fir-built things with bits of striped bunting at their masts head," as the Right Hon. M. Canning called the American frigates in the British parliament. To which is added, "A Persuasive to political moderation," 270 pages. This work was patronised by the first men in the country. The first edition of 2000 copies sold so rapidly, that another edition of 4000 was put to press by the booksellers in two weeks.

After publishing on my own account, independent of the booksellers, 50,000 volumes, chiefly between 300 and 400 pages each, and seeing moral and political corruption slyly and securely gaining ground in the republic, I resolved therefore, at all hazards, to "*speak out*" before it was for ever too late: I therefore published what I then considered a small edition (1500 copies) of "The Rights of God, written for the benefit of mankind, or the Impartiality of Jehovah Vindicated," 368 pages. I did not think the work would sell, so pointed were my animadversions; yet three editions were put to press the same year.

"The Pleasures of Contemplation," being an investigation of the harmonies, benefits, and beauties of nature, a justification of the ways of God to man, and a vindication of the uniformity of eternal truth, contrasted with the deformity of popular error," 272 pages; 7000 copies were published in one year, 1818. In this work I mention the persecution and injustice of my enemies.

To counteract the political and moral poison of the press,

I published, myself, two editions of the "Beauties of Philanthropy, or the Moral Likeness of God, Delineated, in miniature," 368 pages; and five editions of "The Charms of Benevolence and Patriotic Mentor," or "the Rights and Privileges of Republicanism, contrasted with the wrongs and usurpations of monarchy," 360 pages. About the same time the booksellers of Philadelphia and New York, published "The Excellency of the Female Character Vindicated," 324 pages, to guard innocent and unguarded females from the arts of seduction.

The following works were published partly by myself, and partly by the booksellers, namely, "The Pleasures of Death, contrasted with the miseries of Human Life," 300 pages; "The Flowers of Literature," 324 pages; "The Celestial Comforter," 268 pages; "A Concise View of the Different Religious Denominations in the United States," 324 pages; "A Beam of Celestial Light," 216 pages; "The Curse of Christendom, or Bigotry and Bitterness Exposed," 120 pages; "Political and Theological Disquisitions on the Signs of the Times, relative to the present conquests of France," &c, 216 pages; "The Intellectual Telescope; being a Brief Display of the Wonderful Works of God in the Starry Heavens and the Great Deep," 216 pages; "The Excellency of Virtue, contrasted with the Deformity of Vice," 228 pages. In 1832 I published two pamphlets of 30 pages, on Seduction, Slavery, and Intemperance, and in 1837, the "Pleasures of Paradise, or a Glimpse of the Sovereign Beauty," with "The Guardian Genius of the Federal Union, and Patriotic Propositions and Admonitions appended," 216 pages.

While vanity, ostentation, and ambition, manufacture their scores, and mercenary motives their hundreds of scribblers, the influence of philanthropy and moral obligation compelled me, reluctantly, to allow myself to add to the number, and espouse the cause of suffering humanity. I, therefore, appear in the capacity of a philanthropic, a sympathetic, and not a scientific and systematic writer. I feel ambitious of deserving the first appellation, but would not give a particle of dust for the others. What is the approbation of poor perishing mortals, who will shortly be the food of worms, in the subterraneous caverns of the grave, to the approbation of the Almighty Searcher of all hearts? What are the plaudits of

those partial and depraved critics, who eulogize and render popular those intellectual murderers, (who deserve the gibbet more than the highway robber, who only kills the body, while they destroy the soul,) when compared to the commendation of the humane and philanthropic of all denominations, whose approving smiles I almost anticipated and have gained, though like angels' visits, few and far between; at any rate, what are the vociferated praises of millions of "stupid starers," to one self-approving thought, begotten by conscious rectitude?

I make these remarks to justify, not the merits, but the motives of my publications. I have now done with public patronage. This volume, like the twenty others from which it has been compiled, I "cast upon the waters," and continue in the city of brotherly love in my quiet shades of obscurity.

"Here let me live, unseen, unknown,
Here let me unlamented die,
Steal from the world, and not a stone
Tell where I lie."

HUMAN SLAVERY.

"Whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Slavery is in itself so inconsistent, that it seems strange it ever should have had a defender, or its cause should have been espoused by any human being, who had only sense enough to distinguish light from darkness, right from wrong, or happiness from misery. It debases the noble creature man, created but a little below the angels, and reduces him to a level almost with the brutes. Slavery, hateful to God and man, and the greatest evil and sum-total of all evils under the sun, and inflicted by Americans, the most favoured people, and, may I not say, the most enlightened and highest in profession of liberty and Christianity, must render us the most inexcusable, and draw down, unless expiated by sincere repentance and undoing heavy burdens, the just indignation of Him who does not even let a sparrow fall without his notice; and can we suppose that his noble creature man shall be trampled on, and the oppressor suffered to pass with impunity?

You that are parents, husbands, wives, and children, make their case your own.

Man was made to be happy; it is his duty to be so; and it is incumbent on him to use his best endeavours to make his fellow creatures so, without distinction of name, nation, or colour; and, doubtless, he who most honestly and faithfully uses the faculties and means he may be blessed with, to augment the general mass of happiness, must be most acceptable in the sight of a just and impartial Creator, and the reverse.

I love my country, I always have loved it; but for this

cause, shall I cruelly treat one of another country? God forbid! I am a citizen of the world, and a candidate for heaven, where, I am confident, whoever, by obedient walking, is so happy as to arrive, will never be interrogated in respect to his nation, colour, or profession, for "God is no respecter of persons."

I wish that all distinction of parties might be done away. We are all the offspring of the same Universal Parent. How much better would it be, if, instead of teaching our children to regard every other nation or profession as inferior to ourselves, and out of the way, we should take pains to instruct them that he has other sheep, not of this fold, spread over the whole earth, in every country, and among every people; and that virtue only is to be respected, and vice despised, wherever found; whether arrayed in gold or clothed in rags; whether in one that wields a sceptre or begs his bread.

With what a smile of contempt must the judicious foreigner view, on the floor of the capitol, an American slaveholder expatiating on the cause of liberty, virtue, and patriotism, especially when he reflects, that the main tenet, or as it were, the corner-stone, (may I not rather say the whole fabric) of the religion he professes is simply the divine command already mentioned—"Whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"—and when he looks back to the time "that tried men's souls;" when they could resolve, "We will neither import nor purchase any slave, imported after the first day of December next, (1775,) after which, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade; and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, or sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it;" and, in their solemn, unequivocal, positive and pointed Declaration of Independence,

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed;" when he views this just declaimer in the cause of liberty, &c, when he views our public prints, offering human beings for sale, (and frequently inserted "*for no fault*"); when, after a lapse

of thirty years, he sees the thirteen stripes stoop so low, in such a base and ignoble traffic, as to waft from their native homes, from every thing near and dear in this life, thousands of (as to us) inoffensive beings; with what disgust must he turn away from such a hypocritical people, and say, well may their great patriot and statesman, Jefferson, exclaim, "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever;" for, surely, indeed, "we cannot form to ourselves an idea of an object more ridiculously mean than an American patriot signing declarations of independence with one hand, and with the other brandishing his whip over his affrighted slave."

TYRANNY consists in will and actions, not in power, for a man may be as complete a tyrant over one, as one hundred millions. Slavery and tyranny are completely inseparable; for remove the one and the other ceases. There cannot be a slave without a tyrant; for, if the conduct of the master is such as to do away the appellation of tyrant, of course, that of slave must subside. But he that holds another man in bondage against his will, and that not for his good or comfort, does not do as he would be done by, and, of course, must be a tyrant: and it appears a self-evident truth, that no man who holds a slave ought to be entrusted with a post, either great or small, among a free people.

"Ah! why will kings forget that they are men?
And men, that they are brethren? Why delight
In human sacrifice? Why burst the ties
Of nature, that should knit their souls together
In one soft bond of amity and love?"

After waiting with anxious solicitude to hear the joyful intelligence of the prohibition of this iniquitous commerce in slaves, how great was my grief and disappointment to find that Mr. Wilberforce's philanthropic bill was rejected by the infatuated British cabinet, in so contemptuous and insulting a manner, as greatly to discourage the friends of the abolition from exerting their influence or abilities on the subject again; consequently, the fetters, the galling fetters of the unhappy Africans are hereby riveted. All future questions respecting their natural rights, as men, must lie dormant, and the land and sea must again open to drink their innocent

blood and receive their lacerated bodies. But neither the ocean nor the earth can conceal their blood (blood which cries to heaven for vengeance upon the British parliament) from the indignant eyes of a just and impartial God.

My readers will be ready to exclaim with one of old, "*There is treachery, oh Ahaziah!*" when they are informed that out of 600 members of parliament and upwards, (when the above bill, on the decision of which rested the peace and felicity of thousands now in existence, and millions yet unborn) only 147 appear to have voted on this momentous question, which should have roused every feeling of humanity and national honour; which should have collected to the house every member in whose breast glowed the least particle of Christianity, or even common honesty. "*Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Askelon, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice*" in the villany and guilty pretensions of a Christian parliament, who, by profession, are the *defenders* of the *faith*, but, in practice, the traitors and tyrants of mankind. [Their baseness was rivalled by both branches of the U. S. Congress in the sessions of 1837 and 1838.]

Alas! not only devoted Africa, but thousands in Europe, and millions in Asia, as well as the poor natives of America, feel the despotism of avaricious politicians; their measures consign, with impunity, thousands of families to death and destruction, while millions of poor unhappy orphans and widows are precipitated into a labyrinth of human wretchedness and misery: their measures kindle the flames of rebellion, and then they cry "havoc! and let slip the dogs of war." Unpitying, unrelenting, thoughtless and indifferent to all their ravages and completed horrors; and yet, forsooth, votes of thanks sanction the cool-blooded assassins of millions of innocent Asiatics; and the deluded multitude, like the Jews of old, by their concurrence, virtually say, "*their blood be upon us and our children forever.*"

It was a personal knowledge of the wretched fate of the exiled sons of Africa, which induced me, with reluctance, to commence author, though born with a love to poetry; but my diffidence was equal to that love, and no motive could induce me to expose my premature performances to the indiscriminate inspection of critics, but a well-grounded belief

that it was my indispensable duty, as a man and a Christian. At the present crisis, no subject can be presented to the public eye more deserving of their serious attention than the present; our prosperity, nay, our very existence as a nation depends upon the question before us, viz: Whether new slave-holding states, particularly Texas, shall be annexed to the American republic, till the planters of the South gain the sole sovereignty, as they ever have held the balance of power by a preponderating influence in congress, or not? For instance, every cargo of slaves imported by the citizens of the South, and every additional slave state, not only enhances their riches, but increases their political influence; for, according to the constitution, *five* slaves in the South are equal to *two* citizens in the North, with respect to the rights of suffrage.

BUYING STOLEN GOODS

SYNONYMOUS WITH

STEALING.

A French writer observes, "*That he cannot look upon a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of human blood:*" and Dr. Franklin adds, "*that, had he taken in all the consequences, he might have seen the sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly dyed scarlet in grain.*"

THE inconsistency, and, I may add, the injustice, of purchasing and using the produce of African slavery, appeared evident to me as soon as my intellectual eyes were opened to see the enormous villany of the slave trade, and the concomitant catastrophies attending it. I, therefore, at that time, abstained from using the produce which had the bloody signature of West India despotism stamped on it; and it seemed to me then, that every Christian, possessed of the true love of God and Christian charity, must also see how culpable they appear in the sight of that impartial Being, who is no respecter of persons; but who loves, with the same paternal affection, both his black and white children; although thousands of the former are to be found amongst those who spill their blood, and lose their lives, in cultivating that plant which the latter idly waste.

But I would ask, What is the darling attribute of God? mercy. What is the most cogent duty he enjoins upon his creatures? mercy. What divine disposition, implanted into the soul of a human being, can make him most like his Almighty Parent? mercy. What disposition does God require of us towards every living creature, in whose nostrils he has

breathed the breath of life? mercy. And what is religion? it is showing mercy to our fellow creatures, and doing unto them as we desire they should do unto us, and loving God supremely. Is making slaves of his rational creatures, or buying and using the price of their blood, their lives, their labour, consistent with such a religion? No; it is utterly incompatible with the very first principles of moral rectitude, much more religion.

Again; I would ask, can a Christian do a thing that is absolutely wrong, (though it may appear small in the eyes of the world,) and persist in doing that thing, yet maintain his integrity, and remain guiltless? It is impossible. If, therefore, to buy and use the price and produce of human blood (though custom has rendered it fashionable and human laws made it legal) is wrong, it is, of course, sin; and God cannot behold sin, with any measure of allowance, in either saint or sinner.

But, in order to convince such as love their appetites so well, that they will be inclined not to believe it is wrong, as the judgment of the epicure is glad to have some plea, on moral and philosophical principles, to legalize the propriety of using that which gratifies his corporeal, while it poisons his spiritual appetite; he will say to himself, look where I will, I see slavery and oppression prevail; and buy what I will, perhaps the produce of slavery is connected with it. This is the only argument which can be suggested, with even the appearance of propriety, against my hypothesis, and which I will answer by the following similitude. My neighbour clandestinely and feloniously enters the premises of his neighbour, in a hostile manner, and robs him of his property before my eyes; and, when he is done, brings it to me to sell. I know the articles are my neighbour's property, and are stolen goods; yet I purchase them, and allege for my excuse, that if I do not purchase them some other person will. Am I right or wrong in purchasing these goods? Every one answers, you are undoubtedly wrong. But this similitude will fall very far short with respect to the slaves; for they are robbed of their lives, their offspring, their labour, as well as their property. The neighbour above could accumulate more property, in the room of what was plundered from him; but this is far from being the case with the slaves.

We are only guilty of stealing, according to the proverb, when we buy the goods that we know are stolen; and who is it that does not know that the produce of the southern planters, as well as West India produce, is stolen with a vengeance, and that a vengeance must attend both the buyers and sellers; that is, if God is as just and impartial to punish vice and reward virtue, now as he has ever been. But leaving moral evil out of the question, I would ask, can compassion for the case of the wretched sons and daughters of Africa dwell in the heart of that man, or can the tear of tender sensibility glisten in the eye of that woman, who purchases periodically, and uses daily, the produce of their toil, as well as the price of their blood? Surely not. If they are possessed of the finer feelings which ennoble human nature, certainly they must be lying dormant in some sequestered part of the human soul. I would ask, does not oppression disturb the economy of nature? Certainly. Why then is it encouraged? Why is no mercy shown to poor Africans by those who expect mercy to be shown to themselves? If God has no more compassion upon many Christians than they have upon the poor unhappy objects whose cause we are vindicating, what will become of them when they die? Be assured, if we show no mercy, we shall find no mercy shown to us in our turn, when sickness seizes and medicine fails the rich as well as the poor. We should let our tender sympathy be extended to every creature susceptible of feeling, even to the insect that crawls beneath our feet. Such sympathy is transcendently amiable in the sight of God, as being congenial to his own nature.

I smile to myself, when, with my mind's eye, I view the philanthropist and the divine, with the pathos of social eloquence, declaiming against the vices of the age, particularly that of oppression, over a bowl of punch, the principal compounds of which are produced by bitter slavery; but I blush when I view the fair votaries of religion, prior to their going to their house of worship, sipping their green beverage, sweetened, or made palatable, by the sweat, the blood, the tears of their own tender sex, who have to toil and labour in the same gang with the men, and in the same manner, to produce the execrable plant, and whose blood must manure the ground on which that fatal plant grows; and, perhaps,

these same fair devotees, at the moment they are sipping their tea, are declaiming against the inconsistency and villany connected with the slave-trade, and the cruelty of those dealers in human flesh; and yet, forsooth, these fair philanthropists purchase and use the essence of that same flesh with impunity.

Reader, if thou art a person desirous of vindicating the propriety of using the produce of slavery, put thyself, for one moment, in the same condition in which the poor unhappy slaves now are; and view, from the West Indies, the votaries of liberty and religion, in America, drinking out of their jovial bowls, or China tea cups, the produce of thy labour, thy sweat, thy tears, and thy blood; and then, and not till then, let thy conscience answer, is it right or wrong? is it just or unjust? is it pleasing or not to that impartial holy Being who is no respecter of persons? The fact is incontrovertible, let who will shut their eyes, that they may not see it; or let who will prostitute their consciences, that they may not believe; that the buyer of the produce is as reprehensible as the seller. We may, therefore, very properly, compare the slave-dealer to the drover who buys cattle, the planter to the butcher who kills the cattle, and those who use the sugar to the citizens who buy the beef, take it home, cook, and eat it.

What humane mind can refuse to exert its whole influence, however small—what benevolent mind would not willingly sacrifice many gratifications for the extermination of so accursed a traffic? Yea, what mind would NOT REJOICE to be able to embrace an opportunity of making such sacrifices, and thus to give a full proof of its abhorrence of what it professes to detest? Rejoice then, ye benevolent and humane; for, such an opportunity is now offered you. Slavery depends on the consumption of the produce of its labour for support. Refuse this produce, and slavery MUST cease. Say not that individual influence is small. Every aggregate must be composed of a collection of individuals. Though individual influence be small, the influence of collected numbers is irresistible. It is only by such collected individual influence, that any important end is attained, any great design is accomplished by man. The power of numbers supplies the want of sufficient force in the individual; and their being collected, so as to act with an unity of power, renders them as efficacious and

certain as though the power of the whole were invested in one. Did the whole of this power reside in you, you acknowledge that you would readily exert it to attain so desirable an end as the destruction of slavery, the slave-trade, and all its concomitant horrors. Why then will you refuse to assist in forming that power BY NUMBERS, which you so much wish that you, as an individual, could exert? Let there not be so manifest a contradiction between your professed desires and your actual conduct. Weak, indeed, must those desires be, which exist only in words, which produce no influence on our conduct, which cannot excite us to any self-denial. Prove that your wishes are not empty words; let your conduct declare that these are the genuine desires of your heart, and be assured that in the end you shall reap, if you faint not. The number of those who have already refused the produce of slavery is large, it is increasing daily, and no bounds can be assigned to its future progress. Every individual who increases this number, increases the influence of the aggregate. Come, then, enlarge this number. Realize the period, when, through its increase, slavery shall cease with it. Realize the delightful retrospect, the joyful sentiments, which the consideration that you have contributed to so important and glorious an end, will afford. Such sublime pleasures will abundantly more than compensate the loss of the low gratifications of a mere animal depraved appetite.

HUMAN SLAVERY;

by Captain Majoribanks.

"Ah! Afric's sons must stain the bloody shrine!
But all those victims, Avarice, are *thine!*
On Mercy's God, those tyrants dare to call;
But Av'rice only is their lord of all!
To him their rites incessantly they pay;
And waste for him the Negro's life away!
The British peasant! healthy, bold, and *free!*
Nor wealth, nor grandeur, half so blest as he!
The state of life, for *happiness the first,*
Dare you compare with this the *most accurs'd.*
You found them slaves—but who that title gave!
The God of Nature never form'd a slave!
Though Fraud or Force acquire a master's name,
Nature and Justice must remain the same!
He who from thieves their booty, conscious, buys,
May use an argument as sound and wise;
That he conceives no guilt attends his trade,
Because the booty is already made.
"Come, now, reflect what *tender* modes you take
To make those beings labour—*for your sake!*
First, then, you are so generous and good
To give them time to rear a *little* food;
On the same selfish principle, of course,
You feed (*far better though*) your mule or horse.
Small is the portion, poor the granted soil,
Till'd by the Negro's restless Sabbath's toil!

What loud applause a master must deserve,
Not to permit his property to *starve!*
Ere he conceives your meaning or your view,
The whip directs him what he is to do.
No sex, no age, you ever learn'd to spare,
But female limbs indecently lay bare;
See the poor mother lay her babe aside,
And stoop to punishment she must abide!
Nor midst her pangs, her tears, her horrid cries,
Dare the sad husband turn his pitying eyes.
"Among your numbers, do we never meet
Villains so most atrociously complete,
Who, with curs'd accuracy, count the days,
The hours of labour pregnancy delays;
Who nature's wond'rous work attempt to spoil
By stripes, by terrors, and excess of toil?
"Agualta's stream by rains becomes a flood,
Once by its side a fearful female stood;
Th' attempt to cross it was a certain death—
To tarry worse, perhaps—her tyrant's wrath!
Some anxious hours, *unwilling*, did she stay,
Then through the less'ning torrent fought her way.
Prostrate she lay before her despot's feet,
Imploring mercy she was not to meet!
For ah! the ruffian's heart was hard as steel!
No pity *he* had e'er been known to feel!
While the lash tore her tir'd and tortur'd frame,
The pangs of labour prematurely came.
She clasp'd her murder'd infant to her breast!
Stretch'd her sore limbs, and sunk in endless rest.
Nay, malice, safe, may find a thousand times
When no *white evidence* can prove his crimes.
Since, 'tis establish'd by your partial laws,
No slave bears witness in a *white* man's cause.
'Tis said your equitable laws confine
The negro's punishment to *thirty-nine*.
"Bad is at best the slave's most easy state,
Yet some are destin'd to a harder fate.
Villains there are, who, doubly bent on gain,
Most nicely calculate the toil and pain;
Who fix the time (Oh! Heav'n! why sleeps thy wrath?)

They may, *with profit*, work their gangs to death.
'Whether shall we,' those precious scoundrels say,
'Grasp fortune quickly, or make long delay?
A hundred slaves we have no fund to buy;
The strength of *half that number* let us try:
With *mod'rate toil*, from practice it appears
These slaves might live, perhaps, a dozen years;
To us, you know, the matter will be even,
If we can make as much of them in seven.'
The price of property they only weigh,
Regardless, else, what *lives they take away!*
Wretches by want expell'd from foreign climes,
Escap'd from debts, or justice due their crimes;
The base, the ignorant, the ruffian steer,
And find a desperate asylum *here.*
Abject and servile though themselves they be
To those above them but in one degree;
O'er the subordinate, sad, sable crew
They have as absolute control as you.
Men uninform'd, uncultivated, rude,
Whose boist'rous passions ne'er have been subdu'd;
Whose tempers, never naturally mild,
Care and misfortune render still more wild;
Their furious hearts a short relief procure,
To wreak on others more than they endure;
By such caprice are negroes doom'd to bleed.
The slaves of slavery—They are low indeed!
But while he parries off from year to year,
The Negroes' suff'rings are indeed severe!
For their vain lord the most supplies to raise,
Ill fed, hard work'd, they know no resting days.
Perhaps to greedy jobbers lent on hire,
Who from excess of toil their gain require;
Who have no int'rest in them to preserve;
And if they labour, care not how they starve.
Or seiz'd by marshals, and to market brought;
By various masters families are bought.
Amidst their unregarded sighs and tears,
The wife and husband fall to different shares;
Their clinging offspring from their arms are tore,
And hurried from them ne'er to meet them more!

"Accursed state! where nature, and where love,
Rude violations must for ever prove!
You, brutal ravishers! pretend in vain
That Afric's children feel no jealous pain.
Untaught Europeans, with illiberal pride,
Look with contempt on all the world beside;
And vainly think no virtue ever grew,
No passion glowed, beneath a sable hue.
Beings you deem them of inferior kind;
Denied a human, or a thinking mind.
Happy for Negroes were this doctrine true!
Were *feelings lost to them—or giv'n to you!*"

SERIOUS REMONSTRANCES

ON

SLAVE REPRESENTATION.

No subject exhibited for popular investigation, so imperiously demands the attention of the patriotic citizens of America as the present, which is so essentially connected with their interest, and the prosperity of their children, and their children's children for ever. While our presses are crowded with the futile productions of the novelist and romancer, may we not indulge a hope, that a subject so momentous and interesting will command some attention. I am more capacitated to discuss a subject of this nature, than those characters who generally receive their information by hearsay; and surely none can be under greater obligations to expose the complicated guilt of tyrannical slave traders, as well as the deleterious evils resulting from the impolitic commerce and slavery of the human species, than a "penitential tyrant." Had I ten thousand tongues, and ten thousand pens, they should all be employed in disclaiming against a traffic, as impolitic as it is impious, as injudicious as it is villanous. Having relinquished the most sanguine prospects of worldly accumulation and prosperity, from conscientious motives, and having a spirit above flattering villany, offering incense at the shrine of vanity, or adulation to characters clothed with a little brief authority, whether they are honourable or excellent, wealthy, royal, or reverend sinners; I consequently cannot expect a patron. But I claim the liberty of dedicating my works to those who are all their masters, the patriotic, the virtuous, the enlightened, and the independent citizens of America; and if my simple argu-

ments are instrumental in impressing them with a tenfold solicitude for the honour and safety of their incomparable Constitution and glorious Independence, which is their own richest patrimony while untarnished, and the greatest temporal blessing they can bestow on their children, and transmit to posterity, my object is gained, and I am amply rewarded. To consolidate their happiness in particular, and the political emancipation of the African race in general, is the primary object of this performance. Indeed it irritates me, when I remember that the tyrants of the south gain an ascendency over the citizens of the north, and enhance their paramount rights of suffrage and sovereignty, accordingly as they enslave and subjugate the inoffensive, the exiled sons of Africa. I am astonished at the stupidity of our citizens, in suffering such palpable injustice to be rewarded by political, as well as pecuniary gratifications. To suppose that the citizens of the north will peaceably submit to be robbed of all their rights of suffrage by the slave-dealers of the south, is to suppose that a drop of the blood of their fathers does not flow in their veins; and that they are all worse than cowards, traitors, and enslavers of their own children. They should invincibly protest against this infamous inequality, and resolve, with a manly and honourable assiduity, not to have either hand, act, or part in negro slaves, and their tyrants' votes.

We cannot always expect to be at peace ; and many hundreds of thousands of the oppressed Africans look with anxious solicitude for that moment to arrive, when the nation is engaged in domestic or foreign hostility—when they expect to avenge their wrongs, and vindicate their rights—*the natural rights of man.*

To the mortification of philanthropy, to the grief of humanity, to the indignation of morality, and the astonishment of patriotism, the degrading tale must be told : that in this country, where so much precious blood has been spilt in the cause of freedom, where so many heroic and patriotic lives have been sacrificed at the shrine of liberty, in this free country where the motto of the keystone state is, and that of the union should be, "*Virtue, Liberty, Independence!*" and from which it has been proclaimed to a world of vassals and despots, that the basis of our incomparable constitution, as well as of our political sentiments, is, "that all men are born

free and equal," and yet, in this free country, inconsistent as it must appear, though a contradiction in terms and ideas, it is a fact as stubborn as melancholy, that those republicans whose bosoms glow at the name of liberty, who profess to be her most zealous votaries, and indefatigable defenders, in the commencement of the nineteenth century, have not only established but consolidated the most horrid despotism, and riveted the chains of the most diabolical slavery that ever tormented and disgraced the human species.

The unutterable sufferings of the human beings who are the victims of our avarice, were an exhibition which would occasion a shock humanity could not bear; consequently I must draw a veil over scenes too melancholy for recital, and too tragical for the sympathetic ear of philanthropy to endure.

What is the end of civil society? The acceleration of social happiness. If, therefore, these premises are allowed to be correct, human beings are held in perpetual servitude, absolute slavery, only by the ties of villany and fraud, injustice and ungenerosity, in open hostilities with reason, and the nature of things, as well as the fundamental principles of all legitimate associations. This must be obvious to every discerning mind; to enlarge, therefore, on the sentiment, would be to insult my reader's understanding; to suppose he did not see the injustice of slavery himself, is degrading him to an idiot. But before I proceed any farther, I will advance a few, and only a few reasons, where thousands might be adduced, in order to prove, upon ocular demonstration, that it is the indispensable duty of the legislatures and representatives of the northern states, unanimously to protest against the policy of the southern, and to use their utmost endeavours to get the federal constitution amended in a part that is not only injurious, but an insult to them individually and collectively, and pregnant with the most inevitable consequences. If the representatives of the north (or the states that oppose slavery practically as well as theoretically) should be discouraged from proposing an amendment to the constitution on account of the preponderating influence of the representatives of the south, I would suggest to them a motion which I think would be proper to be made in the house, and that is—that the citizens of the north shall

be entitled to two votes for every five head of horned cattle, horses, &c, they possess, in order to be on an equality with the citizens of the south; this surely is as reasonable, and a thousand times more just than the present mode of allowing two votes for every five head of negroes in the south.

"It is unanimously allowed by friends and foes, that the federal union of the states is radically the paramount palladium of our republic: dissolve that compact, and we become a prey to intestine commotion, foreign influence, and sanguinary invasion. By the constitution of the United States, it is provided that 'representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states, which may be included in the union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.' This principle evidently secures to the qualified voters of a state possessing slaves, the right of choosing a greater number of representatives, in proportion to the free citizens, than is enjoyed by the citizens of a state, which, from honourable and virtuous motives, refuses to participate in the barbarous oppression and slavery of their fellow creatures; so that 20,000 proprietors of 50,000 slaves have a voice in the elections equivalent to that of 50,000 free persons who are destitute of this species of property. The admission of this deleterious principle into our national compact, was unquestionably the dictate of necessity. The members of the convention from the eastern states consented to it as a choice of difficulties, preferring a partial sacrifice of their rights, with the chance of future remedy, to the hazard of losing the whole constitution. In the same spirit, the principle was supported in the state conventions, by the best talents in the northern states." The number of representatives of slaves, *alias* southern property, has already increased to twenty-five, and they are urging the annexation of new slave states. These considerations alone should cause our representatives to be on the alert, even laying aside the principles of natural justice, moral rectitude, and the super-excellent precepts of revelation, which inculcate, "that we should do to all men whatever we would that they should do unto us, and that we should love our neighbours (or all mankind) as ourselves."

This is the sum total of all social duty; these are the principles of evangelical rectitude, which are in determined hostility against all slavery and despotism, political, ecclesiastical, and domestic. It is nugatory to address the advocates of slavery on these principles of morality, while they suppose interest and policy differs from them. My principal object, therefore, shall be in these compendious strictures, to demonstrate that slavery is as diametrically opposite to sound policy and true interest, as it is to natural justice, and Christian rectitude. Slavery debases and contaminates the immortal soul, as well as torments and lacerates the mortal body of its victims: on the other hand, it has a direct tendency to generate the most infamous vices among their oppressors, a recital of which delicacy forbids me to particularize. In short, slavery is a present and eternal injury to the judicially infatuated characters who encourage and support it, as well as those who suffer by it temporally. It is an encouragement, an incitement to indolence, licentiousness, concupiscence, pride, treachery, fraud, falsehood, and a train of evils too tedious to enumerate in the oppressor. And with respect to the oppressed, it debases the mind and corrupts the moral character very naturally: for what else can be expected of ignorant, unlettered Afric-Americans, groaning under the frowns of oppression, seeing nothing but complicated villany and violence; instructed by the treachery and deception with which they are subjected, they naturally learn to disregard the rights of others; every moral feeling is blunted, and every social virtue is destroyed. Thus, when individuals in the south become proselytes to religion and moral rectitude, they are impelled to liberate their slaves; and as it would be injudicious to let them remain with the other slaves, they will not therefore be employed; they are, of course, exported to the north, where we have to provide for and support them, with all their vices upon them.

But slavery is not only destructive to the morals of society, but to national industry, improvement, and population: it makes one part of the community indolent by taking away the reward of industry, and the other supine by obviating the necessary stimulus to assiduity. When tyrants can make others the servile instruments of their will, it cannot be supposed that they will pay any attention to industry and labour.

Hence slavery sows the seeds of social weakness and disorder. By the economy of nature, we may ascertain that slavery is the grand impoverisher of a state; it diminishes industry, and discourages population. What I here advance is abundantly exemplified by the history of our own country; by slavery national prosperity must be impeded or must decline. Then since the unanimous voices of reason, religion, humanity, and patriotism concur in deprecating an evil, and condemning a system so pregnant with ruin, to the body politic; therefore, whether we are aristocrats, democrats, or federals, we are bound (who have children or relatives, if we feel natural affection for them) to unite all our force, and labour for the annihilation of such a barbarous commerce. Solicited by so many cogent considerations, our representatives will not, I flatter myself, be deterred by all the clamours of injustice and avarice, to relinquish their laudable endeavours for the safety of their constituents, and prosperity of their country.

Columbus, the first discoverer of St. Domingo, was not only an enterprising adventurer, but also a humane person; yet the Spaniards who followed him, were monsters of cruelty, which their brutal conduct, in destroying the original natives of this island in cool blood, will abundantly demonstrate. They massacred no less than three millions of men, women, and children, who were shot like birds of the air, hunted and torn to pieces by bloodhounds like beasts of the forest, till hey were extinct.

Thus we see, in the most obvious and convincing manner, the melancholy effects of such wicked policy; indeed, it is utterly impossible for a reasonable and intelligent African, to be in any respect favourable to the government, that is the implacable enemy of his nation, in open hostility with all his countrymen, and of all his colour. If he is reconciled, he is, in fact, a tory, and worse than a tory, a traitor. Consistency and virtue are the primary pillars of civil government; take these away, and it begins to nod to its fall. [The government therefore should change its policy, and by exhibiting the spirit of justice and friendship, secure the love and support of the coloured citizens.]

The poor whites, much less the poor blacks, cannot have confidence in the legislators, who one moment declare, as the palladium of their political sentiments, and federal go-

vernment, that all men are by nature free, and yet, forsooth, in the same breath, assert many to be slaves; and those who concur in this sentiment, proclaim their villany, as well as inconsistency to the world, and virtually caution men of common discernment not to place any confidence in their official acts or private contracts.

It is certain the state governments of the south are nourishing evils that will eventually sap the foundations of their constitutions, and prove their downfall. A folio volume would not contain even a specimen of those evils, which are the spontaneous offspring of slavery. It destroys social intercourse, by transforming one part of society to demagogues, and degrading the other part to brutes. It encourages and produces in one part indolence, dissipation, sensuality, duplicity, imbecility, effeminacy, and a train of concomitant evils too tedious to enumerate; and in the other, wretchedness, misery, despondency, starvation, degradation, contamination, the art of deception, and all manner of depravity. The fact is, slaveholders are not only pests to society themselves, but render their slaves destructive nuisances. Every person must allow this, who allows that industry is the very nerves of a free nation, and idleness its bane; consequently, whatever system encourages indolence, and at the same time discourages industry, (for it is well known that white persons who work in the south, are despised by their idle, dissipated neighbours,) proves a prelude to the ruin of the state or government where it is supported. But slavery destroys all sense of moral rectitude and natural justice, for those who are instructed from their infancy, to consider negroes as their property, without rights or privileges, must be prone to consider poor white people, especially if they are very much tanned by the sun, or if they are Spaniards or Portuguese, in the same point of view. Those who think it no sin to rob and enslave a black, a mulatto, or even a mustee, cannot think it a sin to do so to a poor white person. In short, it is "the fear, not the love of either God or man, which precludes slave traders from enslaving poor white people as well as black." Another evil attending slavery is, it eventually destroys chastity in females, by putting a great number of them in the power, and subjecting them to the will of the males. The evils resulting from this are incalculable, as well as

complicated, and are of such an indelicate nature that I must pass them with an astonished silence, which will leave room for the reader's imagination to depicture what would be imprudent for me to recapitulate or particularize.

As a majority of the laws of Virginia, which were in force during the monarchy, were incompatible with the principles of republicanism, the first assembly which met after the organization of the commonwealth, appointed a committee, men of the first talents and respectability, to revise the whole code, and report it to the assembly; part of which revisal Mr. Jefferson relates in the following words, which shows, not only the ingenuity of his head, but also the generosity of his heart.

"To establish religious freedom on the broadest bottom.

"To emancipate all slaves born after the passing the act. The bill reported by the revisors does not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it was prepared, to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up at the public expense, to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their genius, till the females should be eighteen, and males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c, to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants," &c. &c.

[What place can possibly be more cheap, convenient, and proper, than their own native soil of America? To suppose that the country will be so liberal as to declare them free, transport, and settle them in colonies, and lose all their valuable labour, is to presuppose a liberality adequate to colonize them at home; that is, make them free citizens where they now are, and save the immense expense and risk of removal, and secure their services to the country.]

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

I AM well aware that the language of some will be, the alarmist sees dangers which never will be realized, and have no existence, except in the author's enthusiastic brain. This was the language of the Antediluvians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Trojans, the Athenians, the Thebans, the Corinthians, the Carthagenians, the Babylonians, the Macedonians, the Jews, who were the peculiar favourites of heaven, and even the Romans, who were the conquerors of them all, prior to their overthrow; and I might add many nations even in modern times, particularly the Swiss and Batavian republics, who were hurled into the labyrinth of despotism and degradation, at the moment they were expecting to see their liberties consolidated on the most substantial basis. Their histories will demonstrate the uncertainty of human greatness, and the vicissitudes which await the most prosperous nations, when immersed in the sink of popular degradation.

Why do we talk of barbarism? What Oriental nation, what savage people ever encouraged and supported such a cruel commerce in human flesh, or kept so many of their fellow-men in ignoble bondage, as the Americans as well as the other refined nations of Christendom now support and keep? None to my knowledge ever did. I allow that cannibals are devourers of their prisoners, but not their systematical tormentors. Witness for a moment the contrast between the wretched state of African slaves and the cannibal that is just conquered, and about to be devoured by the victors: his tremulous heart no doubt palpitates with anguish, in the

intermediate space between the conquest of the victors and the slaughter of the vanquished, which is but a short time; as the captive is devoured as soon as possible after he is taken; because confinement would only tend to render him an unwelcome morsel for his voracious conquerors. Consequently his sufferings are soon terminated: but this is far from being the case with the poor unhappy negro: the votaries of Christianity tear him from his family and friends; his wife and children; his country and kin; and in short, all that is near and dear to him: not to terminate his sufferings in a few days, by devouring him, but, alas, to assassinate him by slow but sure degrees, with the three epidemic disorders peculiar to the West Indies and the southern states of America; I mean hunger, the cowskin, and extreme labour. But the greatest misfortune of all is, while the poor unhappy slave is thus murdered, corporeally by slow degrees, he is, alas, contaminated mentally by the example and precepts of his tyrants in a precipitate manner; while the massacre of his body is procrastinated, the ruin of his soul is accelerated; his body is indeed butchered in the most inhuman manner, while his soul is poisoned by the most detestable crimes, to which his forefathers were utter strangers in their own country. But the evils connected with slavery are so dreadful and profound, that Satan, if possible, himself, could not hear them developed without a blush! or the most voracious cannibal without a sympathetic tear. I will be bold to say, that this crime of itself is sufficient to force the slumbering vengeance from the skies, especially when it is remembered, that the perpetrators, the abettors and supporters of it, all know their master's will, and of consequence, (if the scriptures are true,) will be beaten with many stripes. Any person who will for a moment reflect upon the moral justice and mercy of God, and the immoral actions and cruelty of the inhabitants of the new as well as the old world, will be constrained to believe, that without speedy repentance and reformation, the scourge of God and besom of destruction will eventually sweep them away. For surely we cannot suppose an impartial God, who has punished unenlightened nations for their iniquity, will, or indeed can, according to his moral justice, and equitable attributes, let those that are enlightened pass with impunity, who have been guilty of the same crimes with

aggravated hostility and refined effrontery. But the sin we have just exhibited, with its concomitants, is only one of thousands, which are current and accumulate strength daily, in what are called Christian countries. We see in other nations the most dreadfully formidable despotism, that ever degraded or tormented the human race, prevail; and we may see in our own, if we will but open our intellectual eyes for a moment, intestine divisions, party acrimony, hatred, and violence prevail, which seems to bid fair for the introduction of anarchy and civil war. For if rebellion or club law begins to appear, and its auxiliary, party-rancour, in the infancy of our nation, what may we expect will be the event of our impolicy, imbecility, duplicity, and oppression in following years, when we may have to grapple with adversaries rendered invincible by our impolicy; I mean the infuriated sons of Africa? Who can help seeing even now, that the sacred basis on which our holy religion is built, is virulently attacked by its enemies, and undermined by its professed friends? for it is a lamentable fact, that though there is a great amount of nominal religion in the world, and pharisaical professors in superabundance, yet, on an average, the number of true philanthropic and evangelical Christians, is comparatively very few. Who can help seeing that the measures of our brethren of the south, have a direct tendency to metamorphose their slaves to the most formidable foes, and that they virtually cry to them, "Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war," though they little think that this is the case, and the very anticipation fills them with horror. But surely, if we may judge the future by the present, and the present by the past, we may easily ascertain the magnitude of the effects, from the virulence of the cause. The case of the blacks of Hispaniola and Jamaica, is irrefragable proof of the cogency of our remarks; and I might add a circumstance, related by Dr. Percival, in his Moral Tales. "A pack of hounds," says he, "were kept long without sufficient food, to render them more eager for the chase, and were frequently lashed by their keeper, who one day entering the kennel without his whip, they all flew upon him and tore him to pieces!" Thus will the slaveholders of the south, some unguarded moment, be repaid for all their barbarities, and perhaps be butchered by their infuriated slaves, with as much vengeance as the negroes

of Hayti and Jamaica manifested in their dreadful massacre of all the whites (amounting to several thousands) that came within their reach, a few artificers for local purposes only excepted.

The long forbearing mercy of God is manifesting to angels, men, and devils, in time and eternity, his infinite goodness in giving his deluded incorrigible mortals, from time to time, and through different channels, timely warning, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear. And while this and similar performances will be living testimonials of the long-suffering compassion of a munificent Creator, they will also be living witnesses of the wickedness, perverseness, and impenitence of the tyrannic and impenitent sons of men, when the hour of retribution approaches, in which the just vengeance of an indignant, a slighted, and insulted deity descends with impetuosity upon the guilty heads of his rebellious, his imperious, his barbarous, his unrelenting creatures. Though this work may be rejected by a great majority of the people, still I feel with tenfold solicitude the importance of the subject, the language of which I endeavour to simplify, so as to suit the capacities of the most illiterate; and let them think what they please and say what they think, relative to the futility of these strictures, I am determined, with the assistance of the grace of God, to give a faithful warning, and perhaps before many years have rolled their anxious cares away, it will be evinced, that I have sounded neither an undue nor an unseasonable alarm. As I feel it conscientiously my duty to admonish my fellow citizens, to forego the product of villany and vices, and pursue the path of honour and virtue; my admonitions in this respect are good, though my fears and anticipated dangers should prove to be only chimerical and romantic illusions. I feel however with peculiar force, the solemnity of the subsequent passage of scripture, and hence that it is better for me to hearken to and obey the voice of conscience, (when under the influence of scripture and reason,) than the requisitions or prohibitions of men:

Yet if thou warn the wicked, and he turns not from his wickedness nor from his wicked way, he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul. This passage I apprehend is as applicable to me, when admonishing my

fellow creatures from the press, as it is when addressing them from the pulpit. Many persons, no doubt, will agree with me, when I assert, that our political situation as a nation is both critical and perilous; though their opinions greatly vary as to the magnitude of the danger, and the sources from whence it proceeds. Many often, too often, deplore the effect of moral evil, without paying any attention to the cause; so likewise they feel the punishment of natural evil, without investigating its source.

"What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes.

"And he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.

"Wo unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!"

But the great misfortune is, that those who feel themselves the lords of creation or the rulers of the people, are the most careless and indifferent to the evils I deprecate, like the inattentive captain who runs his ship upon the rocks and is the first to leave her, and if possible his crew, to the mercy of the waves. They are above regarding the alarmist, and listen with a contemptuous sneer, if they listen at all, to his admonitions. Yet when the dangers he exhibits intellectually are realized corporeally, they will, no doubt, be the most clamorous in exculpating themselves from personal censure, and precipitate in saving themselves from personal danger. But why mention the rulers of the people, or expect to be heard by them? It is to those who will be the greatest sufferers, in the event of a realization of the evils I warn them against, to wit, the agricultural and mechanical part of society, I must address my discourse. For, admitting our liberties should be annihilated, those who now hold their heads high, would be perhaps the royal or imperial dependants, or I should rather have said, the parasites and sycophants of imperial or royal demagogues.

The shipwreck of the republicanism of France, by a solitary wandering adventurer, while it justifies my fears in this respect, should impress the minds of my fellow citizens with a prudential fear also. Let them remember such a

man as Bonaparte would find more powerful auxiliaries in America, than appeared to favour his designs in France. The people there were first torn to pieces by intestine broils, and in this fatigued, disorganized state, quietly suffered themselves to be refettered with the manacles of hereditary, military, and ecclesiastical despotism. Judging, therefore, the present by the past, I will contend, that party rancour, and domestic factions, when carried to a certain extent, will end in the total subversion of our liberties, i. e. if men continue as depraved and ambitious as they are at present.

But some will be ready to say, our resources and militia forces are too great, to justify the anticipation or adoption of your premature fears: I answer, what were the resources of the ancient Romans? They were raised to the very pinnacle of national grandeur and refinement, a little before their degradation: I might have said, annihilation. Be assured, it is not riches, but virtue alone, that can guaranty the respectability and liberty of a nation. But by whom were the invincible conquerors of the world subjugated and enslaved? By a race (I had almost said a handful) of barbarians, who were used in the hand of the governor of the universe, as a rod to chastise the effeminate, the supercilious, the tyrannical Romans, who were previously the oppressors and tyrants of mankind, as the nations of Christendom now are.

A superficial glance at Africa and the East Indies, will suffice to demonstrate this authentic assertion: and I might add the West Indies, where thousands and millions are assassinated, by the whips of the merciless planters, if not, (as in the East Indies,) by the poniards and bayonets of the unrelenting soldiers, and avaricious factors. One are despatched by the weapons of war at once, the other by the horrid apparatus of slavery, and by a slow poison; a dreadful process indeed. Mortal eloquence may attempt to depicture the horrors of slavery, but never will be able to succeed. They beggar description. But even the West India Islands have participated in sanguinary warfare also, till their original inhabitants were extirpated by the whites in those islands. It is a stubborn fact, that the original inhabitants of all the West India Islands are extirpated, except a few in St. Vincent's, who inhabit the mountains, some of whom I have seen in that island.

Out of thousands of instances which might be adduced to prove the authenticity and validity of our opinions, we will only appeal to the fate of the Islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. After the departure of Columbus, the governors of these islands and their ruthless soldiers, in a few years depopulated them, though the inhabitants were an innocent and inoffensive people, very hospitable to strangers. Hispaniola contained no less than three millions, and Cuba six hundred thousand inhabitants. Bartholomew De Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, who was eye and ear witness to their horrid massacres, relates that "they were hunted down by dogs;" fierce bloodhounds, no doubt imported for the express purpose; "these innocent people, almost naked, and without defensive arms, were pursued like wild beasts of the forest, and devoured alive by these dogs; some were shot," like the hunted partridge, "or burned alive in their habitations." He also asserts, from his own personal knowledge, "that the Spaniards frequently caused a number of these miserable wretches to be summoned by a priest to come in and submit to the Christian religion, and to the king of Spain; and that after this ceremony, they put them to death without the least remorse." We should not doubt the truth of the bishop's account; we cannot suppose he exaggerated, seeing he was, himself, in some measure, privy to the catastrophe he relates, as well as four monks of the order of St. Jerome, who were sent out by cardinal Ximenes.

Our population and finances, our commerce and improvements are increasing with a rapidity unknown to our ancestors; but what is accumulated population at home, to a respected character abroad? What are increasing finances and improvements, when put in competition with equitable government, a consistency of principle, and uniformity of practice? We certainly have increased in luxury, avarice, and systematical cruelty, since the epoch of our independence, more than any other nation ever did in the same number of years; *for what Rome was in her decline, America is in her infancy.* We look with a supercilious glance upon personal virtue and national honour, while we are enamoured with riches, and with the vile and vulgar fashions imported from Europe; and pursue, with avidity, the interdicted pleasures which have proved the overthrow of other republics, and

which tend to rock in the cradle of effeminacy those who are to be our defenders, and the supporters of our unalienable privileges, at a future period. We suffer ambition to monopolize the rewards that should be conferred on virtue; nay, we supinely behold our fellow citizens, not only enslave and murder thousands of their innocent, unoffending fellow creatures periodically, but we permit them, by this unjust and unwarrantable medium, to gain not only riches to fill their coffers, but also political influence in our national councils, the permanent right of suffrage and sovereignty. For it is a lamentable fact, that for every two slaves the dealers in human flesh smuggle from Africa, or breed, they gain the same influence at elections, as a free citizen inherits in his own person; and a planter that purchases two hundred negroes, not only replenishes his purse thereby, but also gains one hundred and twenty times as much influence in the nation, as the virtuous and honourable patriot who nobly refuses to prostitute his political and religious character, by participating in such unparalleled duplicity, hypocrisy, and villany. Is such inequality consistent with a republican form of government; is it consistent with justice, generosity, or even common sense? No; it is a canker that eats, and will of itself eventually destroy our constitution. If there was no other enemy to excite our fears and alarm our sensibility, this surely is sufficient. No less than sixty odd thousand slaves annually increase the representation.

Can we blame them if they withdraw their confidence and support from their degenerate fellow citizens?

It is not the fang of the impetuous lion I dread, but the venom of the snake in the grass; that reptile which insidiously steals on its belly, and imperceptibly creeps to destroy. But I detest, I abhor, I execrate the toleration given to slavery in this free country. Free did I call it? can a nation be free, when two and a quarter millions of its inhabitants are in the most humiliating and tormenting slavery? The supposition is an insult to common sense, common honesty, and common feeling. It tends to exhibit us to the whole world as a nation of political hypocrites and legal impostors. To whom shall I look, who shall I call upon, to execrate such diabolical, abominable principles, and deprecate the effects which they will infallibly produce in this infant

country? Ye ministers of God, I conjure you by all that is sacred, to join with me, in vindicating the cause of our wretched fellow men; the honour of our God, the sacredness of our holy religion, enjoins the important duty. Continue no longer in torpid indifference, look no more on this subject, as the Levite beheld the man that fell among the thieves, or as foreign from your ministerial function. Remember religion without mercy, and sympathetic commiseration, is the religion of hell. I appeal to the wisdom and patriotism of the general government, to support the justice, and defend the honour of their country. I call upon the judges, the magistrates, the counsellors, and every individual of the nation, in whose veins a drop of patriotic blood flows, in whose heart a particle of tender pity palpitates, or in whose soul the honour attached to the citizens of America resides. I conjure you to reverence your ancestors, your government, your country, yourselves, and unanimously agree to eradicate the pollution with which you are stigmatized individually, and tarnished collectively. I call finally upon the humanity of the country, and the genius of the constitution, to vindicate the character and support the honour of the union, and destroy the seeds of discord which are already engendered, before they destroy the commonwealth. Let us, in the name of all that is virtuous, and in defence of all that is dear to us, endeavour to secure our safety, if not our glory; our lives, if not our national respectability; and in all our endeavours let us ever keep full in our intellectual view the honour of our progenitors, and safety of our progeny. Let us ever bear in mind, that slavery effeminates and debilitates the nation, that wantonness enervates it, and that sensuality will eventually destroy it. But if any, after all the proofs we have adduced, should contend, that the danger resulting from the inequality and cruelty connected with African slavery is not as prominent as I insinuate, by arguments which I think are conclusive, I will therefore appeal to the hearts and consciences of my fellow citizens. If, for instance, a law was enacted in the national councils, by which the citizens of the north should be entitled to one vote in our elections (in addition to their own personal votes) for every two head of cattle they purchased and placed upon their farms, and so on in proportion to the number of their cattle, I ask those who

are the supporters of slavery, would you not consider such a law as a monstrous violation of the law of nations, of rectitude, and common sense? and would you not be clamorous to have it instantly repealed, or separate from the general government? No doubt you would. But the evils consequent on such a law being passed, would not be half so pernicious and destructive to the public weal as the laws in favour of slave traders: for surely we cannot suppose that horned cattle could gnaw the vitals of the body politic, be always on the brink of commotion, and, as it was in Hispaniola, when the community was harassed with internal factions, or external invaders, embrace the opportunity and repay their tyrants in their own coin, in OPPRESSION, CRUELTY, AND MURDER. When I take a glance at that unhappy country, and view the human skeletons of thousands, and tens of thousands, whiten the shore, who were some years ago the same as the southern planters now are, and used the same paltry subterfuges and futile arguments in favour of slavery, my emotions are unutterable, and I can scarce maintain equanimity and moderation necessary to the elucidation and amplification of our discussion. Were I possessed with the voice of a trumpet, and adamantine lungs, methinks I would make all America reverberate with my remonstrances. My voice should swell "over the hills and far away;" the inhabitants of each city, town, village, and cottage should hear sounded in their ears—Awake from your false security, arise from your seductive repose! Behold with your intellectual eyes, your sacred rights already infringed, and the ways and means providing to annihilate as well as infringe them. For since your opponents of the south have gained their myriads of votes by their increase of slaves, and continue thus to accumulate their rights of suffrage, where are the privileges of the citizens of the north to be found?—whirled into the vortex of the politics of the citizens of the south; and alienated from themselves and their own true interests. This will ever be the case if they do not repel, with becoming magnanimity, such ungenerous encroachments in time. If the friends, the real friends of liberty, will make a resolute stand in opposition to the inequality of such measures, there is no doubt but matters may be accommodated amicably.

Those who have feeling in their hearts, candour in their

minds, and knowledge in their heads, will themselves anticipate ideas connected with our subject, and which perhaps it would not be prudent for me to develop.

Will any call all I have said, or will say, rhapsody or ranting? To such calumniators I would say—your language would be far, far different from what it is, were you in the forlorn situation of the persons whose cause I have espoused, and whose injured innocence I endeavoured to vindicate. But I would ask such patriots, is it only despots that must be censured, when they trifle with the lives, spill the blood, and laugh at the tears of their subjects? Are those who profess to be the votaries of republicanism to remain irresponsible, unreproveable, unimpeachable, and unreprehensible when they commit the very same crimes peculiar to the most despotic governments? Must the cabinets of kings be reproached, when the senates of republics pass on with impunity? I hope not. Are the principles of our government, in which we boast, and the corrupt materials of other administrations which we invalidate, merely themes of idle speculation or declamation, introduced to decorate the senator's speech, and president's proclamation? Is it possible that men can produce such moral mischief, by their mental prostitution, and feel no compunction, nor suffer no reproach for the same? Can they risk the dearest interests of posterity without remorse or shame? I will be bold to say, that by neglecting the warning I give, and suffering slavery to grow and flourish in the land, is to invite the repetition of the tragedy that was acted in Hispaniola and Jamaica, to be re-acted in America. The planters, therefore, by neglecting to abolish slavery in time, virtually solicit the introduction of anarchy. And our administration, if they act in the same manner, will be answerable for the widow's anguish and the orphan's wo, who will consequently suffer the same calamities which the planters of Cape François endured. They must be likewise answerable to their country, to their consciences, and to their God for their pusillanimity and neglect. This is no theatrical exhibition; there can be no inaccuracy in the scenes I have exhibited, and which still recur to my mind, and haunt my slumbering as well as my wakeful moments. Experience in the case of others has proved the authentic prophet, to apprize us of what will sooner or later

come to pass; and methinks I already hear the shrieks of the victims of our imbecility, and it seems as if the voice of weeping and lamentation issues already from the shade of the wilderness or the declivity of the fertile picturesque mountains. With my mind's eye, I view the negro crying with uplifted hands, "*Am I not a man and a brother?*" and the next moment (when redress for his wrongs, or mitigation of his sufferings seems impossible) grasping the sword and pike and sallying forth to be revenged on his fell tyrants. These tragic scenes are already open to my imagination, and I fancy that I hear the yells of infuriated desperadoes, mingling with the groans and shrieks of their expiring victims, while the eastern wind conveys the mingled echo from the distant settlements of the south. If none but the citizens of the south were to suffer in the event of such a crisis, the case would not be so tragical; but the warfare will be general, and nothing will satisfy either race, but the extinction or extirpation of one or the other. The Africans are now reduced to beasts of burden, they will then be metamorphosed to beasts of prey; superior force can only give security; to talk of reconcilement will be fallacious; "for true reconcilement never grows where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep." The futility and versatility of the arguments and dispositions of slaveholders have judicially blinded their eyes: but is that any reason they should hoodwink their fellow citizens? Do they, or can they expect, (admitting their measures will have no worse tendency) that they will tamely bear the re-endurance of their former degradation under royal villany? Can they expect so far to debauch the public mind, as to cause others to subscribe to their rapacity, and legalize their villany, without receiving any thing in return, and losing every thing? Can they suppose that we will suffer ourselves so far to be mentally and morally prostituted as to sacrifice our characters at the shrine of avarice, admitting the pecuniary reward to be ever so splendid and sumptuous? Do they imagine that the people of the north have lost their minds, their memories, and their eyes also? Or do they expect that they shall still succeed in replenishing their own personal finances and impoverishing their fellow citizens; importing thousands of young and vigorous Africans, and suffering periodically hundreds of old, debili-

tated, and superannuated negroes to escape from their servitude, to be not only on an equality with, but also a burden to the people of the north, after they have spent their health and strength in their tyrants' service, thousands of whom are now in Philadelphia, who in the winters have to be supported by public donations.

Can they expect that we will tamely and supinely continue to suffer such barbarous impositions? Can they expect that we will lend our names, our hands, or our hearts, to support, abet, and encourage a cruel traffic, a savage war, that has first drenched the plains of Africa, and crimsoned the waves of the Atlantic with human blood, and which now cries to heaven for vengeance, not only against the tyrants individually, but the nation collectively? For God considers every nation who legalizes villany, by suffering it to prosper, though in the most secret recesses of the community, I say he considers such nations guilty in their collective body, and punishes them accordingly. If when the fraud or villany is detected they punish, or endeavour to punish and extirpate the perpetrators of the same, as the Israelites did in the case of Achan, they are, of course, guiltless; but if they wink or connive at the injustice of individuals, or bodies of the people, they make the crimes of a few the crimes of the whole, and are punished accordingly. Witness the tragic overthrow of the above communities for an irrefragable proof of these arguments. These are serious considerations, in which every member of the state is deeply interested. Moderation induces me to believe, and candour constrains me to acknowledge the same, that there are many virtuous and honourable characters in the southern states, who abhor slavery as much as I can do, and deprecate the introduction of anarchy with horror, and I was going to say, though I would belie my conscience in so doing, that even some of the slave dealers are virtuous and honourable men; indeed it is with regret I expose the cruelty of their measures, but conscience commands and I must obey.

I hope, I fondly hope, the people of the south, (I mean the slave dealing and slaveholding people,) have too much good sense and common justice to impose measures upon their brethren of the north, which they would themselves reject with anger and disdain. They cannot surely think

that we have so soon forgotten the lessons we learned in our revolutionary war. But if they should be so unjust and ungenerous, so weak and so wicked, as to suppose that we would suffer ourselves to be seduced from the path of political rectitude and republican consistency, by the duplicity and finesse of the dealers in human flesh; if they think that we will be dragooned into measures against our own will, and contrary to our own reason and interest, they will find themselves wretchedly mistaken; they will find that the people of the north have spirits no ways inferior to their own. *Citizens of the south!* I conjure you, as you value the peace and tranquillity of your country, as you value the privileges and the rights of the soil that has given you birth, if you are not lost to every sense of feeling for your character and reputation as men, I conjure, I entreat, I beseech you by the expiring honour of your country, by the sacred charter of humanity, which you once helped to seal with your blood, by every honourable and virtuous motive, and by the obvious dangers with which your political horizon is impregnated; finally, by all that is sacred and divine, I conjure you to rally round the constitution, and be the first in resolving to transmit it to posterity as a sacred deposite, untarnished and unadulterated. And remember that nothing but local relinquishments can consolidate public tranquillity. In your legislative deliberations, ever remember, that on the sordid, the narrow basis of monopoly you never can erect a temple to the liberty of your country. The broad basis of public justice is alone the foundation.

If I see a man in power behave tyrannically to my fellow citizens, I must believe that he would behave in the same manner to myself, were I in his power, and that it is the fear, and not the love of God or man that restrains him from committing acts of hostility prejudicial to my interest, as well as that of my neighbour. Wherefore a man, though a rogue or a fool, must be diffident in trusting the professions of a slave dealing legislator. Do you conceive that the information of the citizens of the north has been stationary, while that of all Europe, nay, of all the world, has been progressive? Let not those who wish to enrich themselves by the abuses of governments think that the world is blinded to their duplicity, and insensible of their knavery; as well may

they attempt to metamorphose the philosopher to an ignoramus, or cause the patriot to unknow what he already knows. If you wish to effect a counter revolution in the minds of your injured fellow citizens, you must first cause them to unlearn what they learned in "the times that tried men's souls;" you must destroy their memories; you must draw a mighty veil before their intellectual eyes, to screen the tragical end of slavery in the now republic of Hayti; you must consign every copy of the Rights of Man, and every other patriotic work, disseminated over the face of the earth, to the flames; you must destroy the liberty of the press, that glorious privilege of freemen; you must finally destroy our post offices, and every conduit and vehicle of intelligence. Before you can fetter the understanding and blind the eyes of your fellow citizens, you must accomplish all these things and many more. They will not always patiently endure the impositions of those who have been nursed in the lap of venality, who have been educated to ridicule the idea of the universality of that liberty which they exclusively appropriate to themselves. My dear fellow citizens of the south, I feel the most tender, the most social and sympathetic emotions arise in my breast, while I suggest these desultory strictures, on which your present and future peace is ultimately suspended: there is not a particle of party rancour impregnates my mind; not a motion of personal acrimony accelerates my pen; nor a drop of ungenerous blood flows through my veins while I am addressing you. The searcher of all hearts is my witness, that I rather feel commiseration for your infatuation, than detestation at the criminality of your measures. I well know that the punishment of tyranny runs exactly parallel with the magnitude of the crimes, and the language of Deity to tyrants is, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."

"Such hypocritic foes their toils shall know,
And every hand shall work its share of wo."

Thus you now work, and thus I fear you will work your own overthrow; and in your fall you will, Sampson like, remove the pillars of our constitution, and precipitate the majestic fabric into one promiscuous heap of ruins. Like the patient who abhors the appearance of the physician who points out his disease, and prescribes the antidote, so will you, I fear,

abhor my candid remonstrances. But when your eyes are opened to see your real danger, you will, like the Athenians in the case of Socrates, repent the harshness of your censures, and you will thank me, living or dead, for my candid and reasonable admonitions. But I pay no deference to the adulation or the animadversion of friends or foes. The conscious sensibility that I have done, or endeavoured to do my duty, will be more than paramount to the hosannas of thousands, not only during my pilgrimage through this vale of tears, but also when I anticipate the solemnities of a dying hour, and when myself and those whom I now address, will have to appear in the presence of an assembled world, and hear the mighty clangour of the angelic trump of God, like the shrill clap of thunder that re-echoes over the topmast of a sinking ship in a boisterous ocean: in that dread moment, when slaveholders and their slaves will be convened face to face, at the august, the magnificent, the tremendous tribunal of the architect of nature, I will feel the conscious sensibility and satisfaction, that I gave the tyrant a timely warning, which if he will not hear, will enhance, not mitigate his mighty guilt, and which the register of eternity, in unison with his own immortal knowledge, will amply testify. Then who will be able to defend the cause of the cruel slave dealer, when the Almighty, who is so well acquainted with every part of his unjust conduct, will be his plaintiff, his judge, and his witness? But I must cease giving even the outlines of the tragical sequel, and take another part of the subject. The thought still recurs, and my breast is rent with a conflict of emotions when I see the madness, the folly, and cruelty of the southern legislatures. Sorrow for their depravity, sympathy for their infatuation, charity for their intellectual blindness, surprise at their unparalleled duplicity, astonishment at their effrontery, terrible apprehensions at their political hypocrisy. Fain would I stop here and paint no more the hateful picture, but I well know that the deceitful calm is more fatal than the tremendous storm, the cunning of the serpent more destructive than the fury of the lion.

If, in the language of unbelief exclaim, it is surely impossible that the enlightened legislatures of the independent states of America can declare in one breath, that "all men are born free and equal," and the self same moment rivet the

fetters of slavery on the lacerated limbs of nearly two and a half millions of them. It is impossible that those legislatures can spend whole days deliberating on matters of the most superficial nature, or nodding over the case of the highway robber, who they at last condemn to death for pilfering secretly, or forcing violently from his neighbour part of his property; while they not only take part of the property of thousands of their fellow worms, but their lives and liberties in the bargain, with impunity.

They call to mind Plutarch's fable of the wolf and the shepherds. "A wolf peeping into a hut where a company of shepherds were regaling themselves with a joint of mutton; 'Waugh!' said he, 'what a clamour would these men have raised if they had catched me at such a banquet.'" Thus the slaveholders of the south, while they condemn an individual villain for defrauding his neighbour of a little paltry property, do not scruple to do the same themselves with an hundred fold magnitude. If the effects of their hypocrisy and injustice were all we had to dread, it would not be quite so bad; but the consequences resulting from their impolicy is what I shudder even to anticipate. Methinks I see the sword, the terrible sword of retaliation suspended by a single hair over the nation. The Afric-Americans, whose political information is as much superior to that of their brethren in the West Indies, as one is to a hundred, may yet meditate revenge, and in order to be able to ascertain the magnitude of that revenge, let us only ask our own hearts what resentment and fury would be boiling in our veins if we were reduced to their degraded situation.

Ah! should that fatal day come, (I shudder while I view it even at a distance,) when the opportunity will be afforded them to scourge their oppressors and drive them back to the regions of confusion and despair, from whence they themselves will emerge——

TYRANTS! behold the tragical, the terrific scene, and relinquish in time the impious work of blood, in which you have so long imbrued your hands, and tremble at the desperation of your revolting slaves. Repent, I conjure you, repent in sackcloth and ashes, lest you who have been by the divine munificence exalted to the pinnacle of civil liberty, may be precipitated into the abyss of savage bondage. For

I fear the day of reckoning may be near at hand, when you will be buried in the ruins of your own despotism. The execration of your fellow citizens, the fury of your vassals, the anger of your Creator, and, I might add, the just indignation of all Europe, are combined against you.

The parable of the unjust judge and importunate widow will declare the anger of God; indeed, to suppose that he would not espouse the poor African's cause, would be virtually ling him not only an unjust, ungenerous and partial being, but a hundred fold more unjust than even the unjust judge. I need not introduce any more theological arguments to prove the disapprobation of heaven, as this one is sufficiently conclusive; and if this will not suffice to convince the slaveholder, that by oppressing his fellow worms he makes their Creator a dangerous enemy and an everlasting foe, he would not be convinced though one arose from the dead. But with respect to the indignation of the inhabitants of Europe, though the majority of them are despots, sycophants, and slaves, yet they can discriminate between right and wrong, between slavery and freedom; and seeing such a contrast between your conduct and professions, they justly impeach you with being the most detestable hypocrites and the basest impostors. But the most compendious way to ascertain what they think and say of you, is to exchange conditions with them only for a moment, and think what you would say of them if they acted the base, the barbarous part you have acted and still act. Thus, therefore, Europeans execrate you more than all the tyrants of the world besides, and they cannot help detesting you, especially when they recollect the acknowledgments you have made to the whole world of mankind, of your republican principles, and the motto of the state of Pennsylvania, and which should be applicable to your general government, "Virtue, Liberty, Independence." I repeat, when they hear your pompous professions, and see your satanic oppressions, they cannot help looking down upon you with the oblique glance of contemptuous disgust, and well-deserved execration.

The following sentence is from one of your orators, Jonathan Mason. "Let this sacred maxim receive the deepest impression on your minds, that if avarice, if luxury and political corruption are suffered to become popular among us,

civil discord and the ruin of our country will be the speedy consequence of such fatal vices."

Banish war by organizing a pacific republic, consisting of a delegate from every nation, who will be the arbitrators to settle amicably the premature differences and misunderstandings of the different powers, and thereby totally preclude the necessity of hostile measures or collateral warfare, whose business will be likewise to break the fetters and proclaim the political jubilee to all the heathen nations who may be ingulfed in the pit of systematical oppression, dug by the present luxurious nations of Christendom, or petty tyrants of the east.

There is not, nor ever was there in the world, a nation blessed with greater privileges, and better political and theological information than the Americans. But, alas! what shall we, or, indeed, what can we say, in favour of our gratitude and philanthropy, our national rectitude, justice, or morality, while there are at least two millions and a quarter of our fellow worms in the most ignoble and tormenting slavery, in the bowels of our country, though we, at the same time, profess to be the votaries of liberty. What unaccountable hypocrisy! what unparalleled tyranny! what systematical duplicity, to which the most barbarous of the heathen nations were utter strangers. It is a stubborn fact, that the human family are getting more and more corrupted every generation, as it was previous to the flood, by which the Antediluvian world was destroyed. Thus the Jews were better informed, and also more impious than the Babylonians. The Romans were still more cultivated in all the fine arts, polite literature, and the most equitable jurisprudence; but still they accumulated more crimes, and, if possible, exceeded the Jews in wickedness and ingratitude. In the same manner, but, alas, with more lengthy strides, the Christians have at least eighteen hundred years been adding wrong on wrong, iniquity to transgression, hypocrisy to the most unparalleled villany, and what is worse than all the rest, under the cloak of religion they have perpetrated the most unnatural, the most savage, the most diabolical, I should rather have said, the most devilish crimes: nay, the devil himself would blush at the recital of their enormous cruelty. If we at present cast our intellectual eyes around us, we will at once recognise, that the sufferings of the human family in general, as

well as their guilt, are much greater than they have ever been since the creation of the world. In one word, the earth is filled with oppression and violence; and could we see the inhumanity of man against man, and against animals, as God sees it, we should be petrified with horror, and swoon with astonishment and regret. Few crimes which were perpetrated by the ancients, but what are reflected upon by the nations of modern times.

I think and believe, that to sanction and support slavery in Texas, is a national crime that would have disgraced Sodom and Gomorrah. My mind is much affected by the case of the injured Indians, and by the Texas mania; for sure I am, unless the friends of freedom strain every nerve, the tyrants of the south will gain their objects, as they have two or three times before.

[Under the Mexican government slavery had been totally abolished in Texas, and elsewhere. The Texian rebels could have effected nothing but for the assistance of the southern states, (backed by northern doughfaces,) who have as fully waged the treasonable, piratical war they excited, as if it had been by them formally declared. The number of principled men in Texas is too small to redeem the country and their cause from the fathomless abyss of misery, degradation, and infamy into which this unprecedented establishment and perpetuation of slavery must inevitably plunge them, as well as the United States. The slave mongers, slave politicians, slave presses, and slave senators, have foisted the recognition of the independence of that slave region, and are urging its incorporation into the United States as rapidly as possible. The monstrous outrage against the laws of nature and of nations, unsurpassed by the blackest page of history, is fast tending to its fatal consummation.]

Mr. Pratt's pathetic and philanthropic remarks on the wrongs of the injured African, entitled "Humanity, or the Rights of Nature," I highly appreciate; they remind me of those I wrote to the Hon. William Wilberforce, London, between forty and fifty years ago, and which I have not mentioned in any of my writings.

I have read James Williams's narrative with deep interest, and believe every word of it. He saw much, but I think not half so much as myself.

OPPRESSION OF THE HUMAN SPECIES.

FROM THE

NOTES TO "AVENIA.

REFLECTING on the recent extension of slavery, and revival of the slave trade in Texas, sanctioned by the American republic, and at the same time taking a retrospective view of the revolutionary war and its concomitant circumstances, struck dumb with astonishment, I strive, but strive in vain, to collect and arrange my thoughts, like a man who experiences sensations to which language is not equal, whose conceptions are too large to be delivered. While in the struggle of expression, his eyes, his hands, and every nerve, strive for utterance, and he looks about for help to show his thoughts. When we see the despots of the old world spreading desolation and misery among their fellow men, we are not surprised, as their conduct corresponds with their principles: but when we survey the fathers as professed votaries of liberty and equality, who took up the sword of virtuous defence, and bravely put themselves between tyranny and freedom, between villany and virtue, at a former period; and their sons now become the butchers of their brethren, the destroyers of liberty and the rights of man, and the promoters and supporters of legal barbarity, we are ashamed and confounded! and what enhances our shame, is the consideration that liberty, disrobed and in tears, has been banished from every nation but America; and here she has received a deadly wound. Exclusive of the wickedness and deleterious consequences resulting from the extension of slavery by the republicans of America, it is an outrage on civil society, as well as an insult to the citizens of each in-

dividual free state. It is, in short, calling ourselves all hypocritical tyrants: for no man, in company with his neighbour, will act the robber, unless he conceives him inclined to be one; and no man will attempt to seduce a woman, unless he supposes she is of easy virtue, and the attempt is virtually calling her a harlot. The eyes of all the crowned heads in Europe and the world are upon our young republic, to see if our actions correspond with our pretensions; they are watching an opportunity to gain some evidence against us, that may serve to render our professions suspected, and our republicanism a farce. While their oppressed vassals, eager to shake off their galling chains, look to us with anxious solicitude, in hopes that we may prove to the world that there is a reality in republicanism, and that the sons of men are capable of enjoying liberty.

Can any thing sink the character of a nation lower than *inconsistency?* Should not the American government be *a lesson to the oppressor* and *a pattern to the oppressed?* Why, then, is infernal avarice permitted to tarnish the virtuous fame of the patriotic heroes who "died in the cause of liberty in arms?" It is the nature of compassion to reflect on the wretchedness of the oppressed; and it is natural for a true republican to abhor slavery, into whatever form it may be assimilated, or whatever name it may assume. When I survey in sympathetic thought the miseries of the human family, in what are called civilized and christianized countries, and all through the instrumentality of political and ecclesiastical hypocrites, my soul recoils with indignation, and my very heart weeps blood.

Without noticing the despot's aspersions, or the critic's animadversions, I will vindicate injured innocence, and advocate the rights of man. That God has punished the nations of antiquity for tyranny, is an incontrovertible fact; that he will punish the Christian nations for their barbarity is beyond a doubt—to suppose he will not do it, is supposing him *more unjust than the unjust judge.*

I ask in behalf of the oppressed sons of men, can slavery, as consolidated in America, be consistent with heathenish honesty, much less Christian rectitude? Can it be compatible with republicanism or philanthropy? It is impossible. No man, who will for one moment reflect on right and

wrong, can avoid seeing the complicated barbarity of the slave trade, and it is my firm belief, that the persons engaged in it, either personally or indirectly, living and dying in that state, cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. A man may commit murder yet live, repent, and be saved; but if he dies in the very act, it is blasphemy against the purity of heaven to suppose he can be admitted there. Slave holders and slave dealers are not only literally murderers, but barbarous robbers too. Much might be said to show the injustice and iniquity of this deleterious commerce; but it would be degrading my readers to idiots, to suppose they did not see it themselves; and it would be degrading republicanism, much more religion, to bring them forward to prove the iniquity, inconsistency, and impolicy of slavery, especially in a republic; for here it is to the body politic what a galloping consumption is to an individual.

Finally, we must shut our eyes against reason, and basely insult our understandings, not to see its turpitude and fatal tendencies. In order that the most virulent advocate for slavery may be convinced, let him put himself and family in the condition of the slave, and then vindicate the principles if he can. But passing by all that might be said on this topic in a theological point of view, we will briefly consider the impolicy of slavery in a political view. It might easily be demonstrated, that permitting slavery in the republics of antiquity, was the primary cause of their downfall; and what they were, the southern states of America now are.

With what painful sensations must the philanthropist reflect on the present as well as the antecedent state of society in almost every part of our terraqueous globe. Indeed, whether we contemplate the state of civilized or savage nations—where literature flourishes, or where ignorance prevails—the civilian in his mansion, or the cannibal in his hut—we see violence and oppression prevail, and we must impressively feel emotions of indignation and pity. The more circumspective our view, the more painful are our observations; and, alas! the mind is not elevated, but more deeply wounded, by reflecting on those legislators, who profess to be the friends of liberty. The mind in traversing the earth, beholds millions of wretched objects, the fruits of legal barbarity; then looks to the despot on his throne, the republican

in his presidential chair, the philosopher in his closet, the minister in his pulpit, and calls for justice, for pity, for commiseration—but calls, alas! in vain. Who can, without tears of compassion, view this theatre, whose exhibitions are most distressing, and whose inhabitants still encourage scenes at which humanity shudders, virtue mourns, indignation frowns, and liberty melts to tears!

I would ask the votaries of oppression what is civil government? It is not arbitrary power. It is not, or should not be, a contrast between miserable huts and splendid palaces, between penury and pomp, extravagance and indigence. It is not instituted to rob the poor man of his liberty, as well as his mite; increase the miseries of the miserable; exalt one part of society above the state of man, and degrade the other below the state of brutes. Civil government is no other than a national association, whose object is the happiness and security of every individual member of a state without partiality, and to administer justice without respect to persons, and at the least possible expense to the nation. Every individual in a republic, is a proprietor in government; as he has deposited his right in the common stock of society, he draws on the capital as a matter of right, and government should guaranty the rights and privileges of each citizen individually as well as all collectively. Is slavery consistent with such a government? It is impossible. The fact is, slavery is an indelible disgrace to the American constitution, as well as an eternal reproach to the whole nation. The more we extend our views, the more we investigate the principles of our government, so much the more cause we have to blush for the honour of human nature; and it is owing to our familiarity with scenes derogatory to every just, honest, and virtuous principle, that we do not shudder, and invincibly protest against the legislative procedure of our fellow-citizens. The Israelites protested against and punished the tribe of Benjamin for their cruelty to the Levite's concubine; but Americans see with indifference their fellow-citizens enslave, violate, and murder millions of their fellow creatures with impunity, and with their concurrence. I do not by any means wish to give offence, but I must affirm, that there are a set of men in the United States who, if allowed to put their principles in practice, will give the death blow to liberty, who has been

already chased round the globe, cashiered by her enemies, and wounded in the home of her friends. The characters alluded to may be included in the following description:— Avaricious men, who are not to be trusted; bigoted men, who cannot see; prejudiced men, who will not see; cruel, ambitious, interested men, who would wade through seas of the blood of their fellow men, to exalt themselves, and gratify their vanity and pride; and this last class, let their professions, pretensions, or names be what they may, will be the cause of more calamities to our young republic than all the other three. Aristocracy, or the representation of any other kind of property, is disclaimed by the slaveholders of America, and so is the European law of primogeniture, which unjustly and ungenerously disinherits all the children of a nobleman, except the oldest son; one is exalted, and the rest are debased. This infamous law, and many others equally oppressive, are exhibited to popular animadversion and contempt by them, and yet this is only in minority what American slavery is in maturity. It was by allotting to particular men and families extraordinary power and privileges, that former republics were bereaved of their liberties, and precipitated into a terrible abyss of despotism, wretchedness, and degradation. It is a well attested fact, that in any country where interested men are exalted, corruption naturally engenders around them. It is inhuman, it is diabolically wicked, for any government or nation to suffer thousands of human beings to be consigned to unutterable wretchedness, to support an individual villain, or a family of them, in their idleness, luxury, and dissipation; and yet this is the case in America, the country which, above all others, should discountenance oppression and despotism; to demonstrate which, a number of cogent reasons might be adduced; but as our limits will not admit us to enlarge, we will let a few suffice.

In the first place, domestic slavery has a natural tendency to be metamorphosed to national aristocracy, it being morally impossible to keep elections pure, where one part of society are exalted to demi-gods, and the other part degraded to beggars; (I am here alluding to the poor white people in the southern states;) for where one citizen, who by fraud or force, has gained the sovereignty over a thousand slaves, and sends his imperial commands over as many acres of land,

fifty must necessarily be in low circumstances; the consequence of which is, one part of the citizens are furnished with the means of corruption, and the other part are put in a condition that they cannot avoid being corrupted. Any person who has studied human nature, may easily see the validity of this remark.

Secondly—There are no characters on our globe more naturally unfit to be legislators for a republic than slaveholders; because their ideas of distributive justice are corrupted in the very source. Their juvenile employment is to trample on the rights of their fellow men, and look with contempt on their poor neighbours, for, in fact, they are taught and educated so to do. I would ask, with what ideas of justice can such persons enter a house of legislation, or take the reins of government in their hands, who rob their African brethren of their liberties and lives, because, forsooth, they are black, and despise their virtuous fellow-citizens because they are poor. Can a government consisting of such characters long continue free? It is utterly impossible. Such governments may, in point of theory, exhibit the appearance of liberty and equality, while the persons who were actors in, and witnesses of the revolution, live; but when they die even the *appearance of liberty must die with them*, if mankind continue to be as degenerate as they are at present. While Joshua lived, the Israelites served the Lord; but when he died, they soon degenerated.

Thirdly—The idea of a slaveholder being a good legislator or governor, is as inconsistent as to suppose a wolf would be a good shepherd, and defend, not devour, the sheep; or a fox would protect, not destroy, the poultry.

Fourthly—It is continuing the uncivilized principle well known in Europe, of governments becoming the property, by hereditary right, of individual despots or families of them. Though this sentiment is exploded by Americans, it is certain that the base idea of man having a property in man, and governing him by personal right, is not confined to Europe. There it embraces white men, here only coloured men; but public opinion only controls the sentimental despot in the present generation, while the concomitant circumstances of the revolution are fresh in our minds, in the next generation that must naturally wear away; then despotism, which is

now confined to the poor blacks, the poor whites must participate. This will as naturally be the case, as that a little leaven will leaven the whole lump.

Fifthly—The encouragement of slavery in the southern states, by inculcating the idea that useful labour is degrading, is of infinite injury to the poor white people in the northern states.

Sixthly—It is a stubborn fact, that slavery has a tendency to degenerate even the patriotic, as well as the despotic, "as strong temptations with the best prevail." That supremacy in an individual, a family, or a state, is a forerunner of the annihilation of a republic, is as plain to me as a ray of light, and must be so to every one who will not wilfully shut his eyes. I here studiously forego discussing this subject in a religious way, though most congenial to my sentiments, and agreeable to my taste. None can say that these arguments are the offspring of fanaticism or enthusiastic vision. They are a few disinterested political reasons, collected as it were to a focus, where thousands might be adduced, to demonstrate the deleterious tendencies of nourishing slavery in a republic. Here, however, I would transcribe one paragraph from my "Address to the Inhabitants of Christendom," page 172.—"These are serious considerations, whatever oppressors or their abetters, persons judicially infatuated, may think; there is a minute account of all their barbarities in the records of eternity. And wo to all tyrants, despots, and oppressors, when the accounts are settled: or to use the language of scripture, when they are weighed in the balance, for they doubtless will be found wanting. The most populous and famous nations of antiquity have been called to a reckoning; and the most haughty kingdoms have sunk to ruin, when the balance was struck. Were unenlightened nations punished, and punished with severity; and can the enlightened escape with impunity? Such a supposition the justice of the Almighty forbids, as blasphemy against the rectitude of heaven. It is not the benediction of a prelate, the eloquent speech of a potentate, or the proclamation of a prime minister, that will repay the blood of India, requite the wretchedness of Africa, or appease the anger of heaven—SERIOUS, SOLEMN CONSIDERATIONS."

This paragraph applies to American as well as European

despots, for the Antediluvian law, *whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,* is now as much as ever in full force.

"The qualified voters of a state possess, on account of their slaves, the right of choosing a greater number of representatives, in proportion to the free citizens, than is enjoyed by the citizen of a state, who, from honourable and virtuous motives, refuses to participate in the barbarous oppression and slavery of their fellow creatures; so that 20,000 proprietors of 50,000 slaves, have a voice in the elections equivalent to that of 50,000 free persons who are destitute of this species of property."

If the citizens of the northern states do not wish to leave their children a prey to anarchy, intrigue, and intestine commotion, they should by all means endeavour to correct this glaring inequality, which undoubtedly is pregnant with inevitable consequences both to the federal union and civil liberty; for they are as much better qualified to correct this defect at present, than their progeny can possibly be hereafter, as one compared to one hundred; even now, a general view of the population of the union—the relative situation of certain states with each other, and the predominant policy of certain southern states will demonstrate, that the representative principle, as established by the constitution, has given to the southern states a preponderating influence in our national affairs. That this influence will be improved to the total ruin, as it is now improved to the injury of the northern states, is as plain to me as the alphabet. That this will be the case, without a speedy remedy, is already ascertained from the history of the world in general, and the Jews in particular. As this barbarous principle, which allows slaveholders more power and privileges according as they precipitate more of the human family into inexpressible misery, was assented to by the northern delegates with reluctance, and on account of local circumstances, it is certain it should be no longer binding, than while other states should adhere to the principles of liberty and equality on which the general government is erected, and which should countervail this ungenerous inequality. Then since we find that the operation of this principle has already become so injurious to the northern states, that by its means their influence is literally

annihilated; that they are at this moment the mere colonies of the south, who, notwithstanding, are very naturally still farther preparing the means of perpetuating their ascendency (or, if you please, supremacy!) by procuring innovations favourable to her own views.

Since the importation of slaves has been prohibited by the laws of all the states, the prohibition, though very often eluded, has no doubt operated as a partial check. But now, new avenues from Spanish America are opened to this destructive traffic, by the recognition of Texas, as they were before by the acquisition of Louisiana and through South Carolina, and to the eternal disgrace of our body politic, the slave trade between distant states is renewed and facilitated to a most deplorable extent; myriads of unhappy men, women, and children, victims to legal barbarity, are periodically transported through the American republic, who, though destitute of right themselves, and reduced to a level with the brute creation, yet they confer upon their purchasers the paramount rights of suffrage and of sovereignty, and every five of whom, upon any difference of policy or division of votes between the south and the north, may be considered as effectively balancing the votes of two freemen in the north. Another radical evil, however, of peculiar magnitude, I must notice. Candour forbids me to think, much less assert, that the principal characters of the State of Virginia and the south, men of profound erudition, or the mass of their citizens, plot the introduction of anarchy and innovation. Their souls would, I trust, recoil with horror at the idea of intestine commotion, instead of anticipating a crisis which would inevitably prove fatal to themselves if not to their opponents; but whoever will reflect upon the depravity of human nature for a moment, will see the danger of intrusting even the best of men with power. What is the reason that millions of the human family despise the paramount blessings of vital religion and civil liberty? The reason is, that the professors of both, while kept in a state of mediocrity, are more sincere; but when exalted, forget themselves, disgrace the best of causes, and prove hypocrites and demagogues. I have seen or heard of but four men whose love of liberty was superior to their love of power and popularity: namely, Washington, Mr. Jefferson, La Fayette, and J. Q. Adams. I have not

known an individual in my life, and Mr. Wesley affirms that in sixty years he did not know six religious persons that were exalted temporally, but degenerated spiritually, and though they retained the shell, lost the kernel of religion. Those who consider the nature of pride and the treachery of the human heart, will not be surprised at this recital. Hence I believe, one exalted state may excite a tempest that all the states can never allay.

But it should be remembered, that each state has *two votes in the Senate* of the United States; that the catalogue of new states has been extended by the policy of the south, and that their local situation gives them an unlimited control over the immense southwestern territory, which will be divided into states at their pleasure, and will realize towards her, from the time of their birth, the affections and prejudices of children of the same parent. The country purchased for 15,000,000 dollars, (Louisiana,) of an immeasurable extent, has facilitated the augmentation of the number of states, that are enemies to the rights of man. The official communication of our minister in France then was; "That it can be cultivated by slaves only." We are also informed, that a portion of this newly acquired world is further from us than some of the West India Islands, and that some parts are more distant than Europe; that the fertility and natural advantages of the territory already explored invite a rapid population. The settlements already organized, are said to contain a motley race of all nations and tongues, and will afford a secure asylum for hordes of fugitives and vagabonds, whose emigration will tend to consolidate slavery, and whose business it will be to drive slaves; and when assimilated to American citizens, what will they or rather what will they not accomplish? Thus will the Virginian or southern policy intrench itself behind the most formidable ramparts. States will be multiplied at her pleasure, with as much expedition as townships are incorporated in the northern states and stocked with voters more easily than the rational votaries of liberty can stock their farms with cattle. Does it not incontestibly result, that these circumstances have an unavoidable tendency to deprive the northern states of all interest and consideration in the national government, and so accelerate the annihilation of the federal union, the palladium of our constitution. Every

person not blinded by interest or prejudice must see, that without indefatigable exertions, the citizens of the northern states will be ingulfed in a vortex of politics and interests alien to their own, and that the voices of their representatives will be drowned amidst the jargon of cow-skin delegates, chosen by negro drivers and African slave traders. I ask once more, in the name of common sense, when some 1,500,000 slaves more are imported and transported to cultivate the Louisiana and Texas regions, which are every week rapidly being stocked, what will become of the interests, the unalienable rights and natural privileges of the northern states? Where shall we find the liberty and independence for which the patriots of '76 fought and bled.....for which the revolution was begun and achieved? Or, where shall we find the federal equality which it was the object of the present constitution to guaranty? Behold the French Republic and the democracies of antiquity, and we need not be at a loss for an answer. Some of them, who depended on their own intrinsic force, have fallen a prey to factious demagogues and anarchy. Some who had confederated for mutual defence have been rent asunder, owing to the ambition of the great to tyrannize over the less; and what accelerated their downfall was the blind confidence which they had in their flatterers. All these republics have flitted away, and like blood-stained spectres, pursued by an angry demon, or like thoughtless children, deceived by the fraudful kidnapper to their ruin, and have been precipitated together into one horrid abyss of despotism.....This, no doubt, must, in the nature of things, be the fate of America, unless we shun the rocks on which they split, even admitting that there is no God to redress the grievances of the oppressed here, or justice to punish the cruel oppressor hereafter.

From the arguments already adduced it will appear evident to every person, not contaminated by local prejudice, (and the angel Gabriel himself could not convince such,) that there never was a time when it was more necessary for the friends of liberty to watch congressional intrigues more circumspectly than the present, and to distinguish the politics of individual states from the politics of the nation. It is the love I bear my fellow creatures, the desire I feel for their happiness, and the solicitude I imperiously anticipate for the honour of human

nature, that stimulates me to think and write on politics, for I have, naturally, no inclination to discuss such topics. I have preferred poverty with virtue, to affluence with villany, and do uniformly avoid all parties and party connexions, either in church or state, and finally I seek a peaceful asylum in the shades of obscurity.

The degeneracy of France and the hypocrisy of her tyrant, Napoleon, has entirely changed matters in Europe, and given civil liberty a mortal wound. All the despots of the world combined against her, and nothing but a reciprocal union could have given sufficient security against their intrigues. What a pity it is, that the nations of Christendom are not as anxious to exterminate this greatest of all judgments, sanguinary warfare, from the world, as they are to promote it! How easily might this be done, if governments were of a pacific turn; but, alas! the contrary is the case—stubborn facts prove it so to be. What impoverishes thousand of families and makes millions of wretched orphans? *War, bloody war.* What a glorious reformation it would be, if a general congress, or pacific republic was organized by all nations, for the purpose of precluding the necessity of war, by accommodating all disputes, amicably, which might arise between nation and nation. How easy might a court of arbitration thus formed, by a delegate from each civilized nation, settle every foolish misunderstanding which too frequently is the cause of the loss of thousands of useful lives and millions of treasure. Such a plan would reduce taxation in some nations, at least 100 per cent. less than it is at present.

As the American government is the only free one in the world, like a city placed on a hill, she should show a pattern of political rectitude and pacific moderation to a world of despots and slaves. No nation can boast so fair an origin. The proudest government in the old world originated from individual ruffians and murderers, or united bands of them. But the first settlement of the Northern States was with honourable patriots. We should not, therefore, disgrace our origin by our imbecillity or hypocrisy. The eminence on which our republic stands—the vast prospect before us—the eager eyes of millions of enlightened slaves in Europe placed upon us, who long to shake off their manacles and be free,—the millions of families plunged in unutterable misery and distress in

Europe, to maintain despots in their extravagance and exalt their flatterers—all these circumstances, and many more that the philanthropic heart will exhibit to view, must conspire to impress every patriotic American with tender emotions, and must excite their commiseration as well as contemplation, to see it in our power to teach mankind to be happy; to show them by example as well as precept, that they may be so, if they *will*, should command our reflection and gratitude. All mankind saw the heroes of America triumph over adversity, and may all nations see her equally virtuous in prosperity. National reputation possesses a charm which commands the respect and veneration of both friends and foes. The circumstances attending the American revolution have contributed more to enlighten mankind and diffuse a spirit of freedom and liberality through all nations, than any political event antecedent or subsequent to it. May heaven forbid then, that a single blot from any quarter whatever, should ever tarnish such a glorious cause; may it ever be beyond the power of calumny to throw the least reflection on our honour as a nation. Character is much easier kept than recovered; and that enemy, foreign or domestic, individual or state, who lends, unseen, his hand to injure it, inflicts a wound he never can heal; he takes a jewel which never can enrich him, but makes the loser poor indeed. As United States we may conquer a world of enemies. As individual states, we may become an easy prey to our foe. It is our interest and should be our pride to be recognised by no other name than citizens of America, and our grand object should be, to guard with jealous care the federal union, that great palladium of our honour, liberty and safety; its intrinsic value and sovereign utility can never be duly appreciated, unless we should unhappily forego this political blessing and be cursed with the loss of it.—The most effectual way to defend it is, by individual states yielding up local privileges, which are in the nature of things injurious to the whole nation. The states are like men in society; something must always be yielded up, in order to make the whole secure; for local relinquishments consolidate public happiness.

In order to conciliate the affections and unite the interests of the citizens, not of the individual states, but the United States, (the title which keeps, and which alone can keep the

world, and particularly the world of enemies in awe) and finally draw and keep the mind of the country together, the diabolical principle, which confers such a super-abundance of the paramount rights of suffrage and sovereignty upon a part of the citizens, accordingly as they enslave and murder their fellow men, to the great injury of the virtuous and honourable part of society—this infernal practice (which I again delineate in order to expose it) must be abolished, or the union must be dissolved, that is, if the spirit of '76 is not completely obliterated from the breasts of the citizens of the north; for it is not only an insult to common sense, but degrading them to cowards, to suppose, that they will tamely see their sacred unalienable rights infringed by importations from Guinea.

Twelve amendments have been made to the constitution. Why not amend the principle alluded to? The constitution has provided ways and means to amend its own defects. Why not embrace this constitutional privilege, and eradicate this shameful inequality? Is it not more eligible to accommodate any misunderstanding that may exist between the different states, in this way, than to do it by the force of arms? Surely this would produce anarchy and intestine commotion; and who, in such an event, will be the greatest sufferers? I answer, and I shudder while I answer, Oppressors! For how could they stand with injured innocence behind them, alias, their infuriated slaves; and virtuous patriotism before them, alias, their insulted fellow citizens? who, perhaps, in order to transmit to their children and their children's children that unadulterated freedom and rational liberty for which they fought and bled, are necessitated to wear the sword of virtuous defence, and prove true to themselves, their children, and all mankind, by transmitting, with every mark of honourable conveyance, the inheritance they established for posterity.

These simplified considerations merit the candid attention of all who are really friends to civil liberty and our incomparable constitution, and to the interest and tranquillity of the country at large. At any rate, no injury can arise from an attempt to preclude the introduction of anarchy, in preserving a balance of power among the states founded on justice. No individual, family, or state should have a preponderating influence in government, as it is the property of

the nation, to whom it is responsible, by whom it is supported, and whose interests it is bound to secure. It is not, nor, indeed, in the nature of things can be, the property of an individual family or state; and though in some countries it has been usurped into an inheritance, yet this cannot alter the nature of things; make wrong right, and right wrong. As sovereignty belongs exclusively to the nation, it is certain the community has an inherent, indefeisible right to abolish any political principle; nay, even the government itself, whenever they find it is unjust, and alter or reorganize it, so as to accord with their interests and happiness, modified by local circumstances.

In a free government, when public faith and virtue droop, the republic begins to nod to its fall, and without a speedy reformation will inevitably crumble into ruins. According to my political creed, a virtuous individual is in miniature, what a government of them is in magnitude. The best individual who forsakes the paths of rectitude and virtue, and plunges into wickedness, accelerates his own ruin, and his antecedent comforts foregoes; and thus the best governments on earth, that wilfully forsake the paths of political rectitude, who wink at villany and patronise fraud, either virtually or literally, undermine the foundation on which they are erected, and facilitate their certain downfall. The premature fate of the governments of antiquity will prove the validity of this assertion to a demonstration, and we might include several in modern times. St. Domingo and Jamaica should be a sufficient warning to the tyrants of America, to desist speedily from a commerce pregnant with the seeds of inevitable destruction, and they should never forget the old proverb, namely, "that opportunity lost can never be recalled."

I will add a short note on the African country and character, and the slave trade.

It is unanimously allowed by travellers, that Africa is as fertile as any other part of the world, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive there without cultivation. The lakes are stored with fish—the fields with flocks and birds, and even the woods abound with spontaneous fruits. For my own part, I will be bold to affirm, that it is the most beautiful and luxuriant country I ever beheld;

although I have visited several kingdoms in Europe, islands in the West Indies, as well as South America. That part of Africa alluded to, called Guinea, from whence the slaves are brought, extends along the coast 4000 miles, from the river Senegal to Cape Sierra Leone; thence it runs eastward 1500 miles, including the grain, ivory, gold, and slave coasts, with the kingdoms of Benin, Congo, Angola, and many others.

The inhabitants of Congo are eminently civil, courteous, and very hospitable to strangers. They believe in one God, the Author of all things; they conceive him to be a munificent being, and that he requires his creatures to be such. They appear, likewise, to have a confused apprehension of a future state. Such is their generosity, that a beggar is not to be seen in the kingdom. Theft is punished by confiscation, but adultery with death; and the delinquents' bodies are cast to the birds and beasts of prey to be devoured, which is considered as a great disgrace and punishment. They discover a good understanding; are remarkable for the respect children pay to their parents, wives to their husbands, &c. Finally, they are the most philanthropic people I ever was among; which I had an opportunity to prove while travelling alone in their woods at a particular period, depending upon their bounty for my support, and being fully in their power. I have found them, I solemnly declare, more hospitable than many professors of religion in Europe or America.

It was about the year 1551 that the English commenced their trade to Guinea. Some time after this, Sir John Hawkins equipped a little fleet to trade for slaves. He landed a number of men, armed with swords and lances—lances being at that time generally used in Europe as well as Africa—to take the inhabitants by force and burn their town; but they met with such resistance, that they lost nearly as many of their own men as they took slaves. Finding this method too dangerous, they contrived a more compendious way, by prevailing on the natives to make war on each other, and sell them their prisoners for trinkets, rum, warlike apparatus, &c. Till this period, the natives seldom had any wars; whereas now they are continually enveloped in all

the horrors of sanguinary warfare, instigated by European speculators.

Complicated and extensive are the miseries attending on the slave trade. The tragical scenes that I have myself witnessed are almost incredible. Then what imagination can conceive, what tongue can express, or what pen can paint, the dreadful scenes recognised by the all-seeing eyes of an omniscient deity? There is nothing more frequent on the African coast than the sacking of towns and the wanton destruction of thousands of human beings. The war is generally commenced in order to procure slaves for the Europeans. When the enslaving party is opposed with vigour, if they prove in the end victorious, their thirst for revenge is paramount to their avarice. Hence there is nothing more common in the conclusion of these sanguinary conflicts, than for every individual of the vanquished to be put to the most cruel death. To demonstrate this assertion, many lamentable instances might be adduced; but for the sake of brevity we will let one suffice, which is taken *verbatim* from an original manuscript journal belonging to the surgeon of a Guinea-man.

"*Sestro, Dec.* 29, 1724. No trade to-day, although many traders came on board. They informed us that the people are gone to war inland, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days, in hopes of which we stay. The 30th.—No trade yet; but our traders came on board to-day, and informed us that the people had burnt four towns; so that to-morrow we expect slaves off. The 31st, fair weather, but no trading yet. We see each night towns burning, but we hear many of the Sestro men are killed by the inland negroes—so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful. January 2d.—Last night we saw a prodigious fire break out about eleven o'clock, and this morning perceived the town of Sestro reduced to ashes. It contained some hundred houses. So that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled here; therefore, about 7 o'clock we weighed anchor and proceeded lower down." This is the way the Christians show their information and the excellence of their religion to the heathens. This is the way they invite them to become prose-

lytes to their tenets;—to gratify their pride, lust, revenge, and avarice, in this manner hundreds and thousands of wretched mortals are brutally massacred. Ye crimson plains! never, oh, never cover their blood! and ye briny seas, hide not the thousands of their lacerated bodies which you have received in your bosom, but expose them, and with them their murderers' guilt, to the world.

PATRIOTIC PROPOSITION.

THERE are many spirits of partyism I deplore and deprecate, but none so much as the bitter one existing between the Slaveites and Anti-slaveites. I saw it in embryo thirty years ago, in infancy twenty years ago, and progressing to maturity three or four years ago; and as a rock torn from some lofty mountain's summit, rolls down its side and gains new force and swiftness as it flies, so is it in the abolition controversy; it has already brought forth mobocracy and Lynch laws, and without the resurrection of patriotism, it will most assuredly bring forth anarchy, and its slow but certain offspring, military despotism. But to sincerely endeavour to conciliate the above parties, is certainly an imperative duty.

I consider and believe that the brightest and richest of the American population are in both the above parties, and I love and respect them both, our difference of opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. I think I can safely say, in the millions of miles I have travelled, I never found a more hospitable people than the citizens of the south, the peasantry of Ireland, and the savages of Africa; the first, when I was a stranger, took me in and supplied my wants, and would not receive a cent; the second gave me butter-milk to drink; the third, when I asked for water gave me palm wine. I could mention other parts of America where they took me in when I was a stranger, but it was the wrong way. The remembrance of the pleasing scenes and pleasurable attachments I formed in the south, to the present moment endears them to me. Indeed the brave Baltimoreans were my most generous and numerous patrons, and to them I dedicate this work, with grateful affection to the children, for the generosity, liberality, and hospitality with which their parents treated me before they were born.

I will now venture, with great diffidence on my own part, and much deference to the anti-slaveites, to address a few friendly thoughts to them. I have been myself too acrimonious in my animadversions on the subject of slavery.

Affectionate admonition, Christian forbearance, and charitable remonstrances, are calculated to convince, or at least conciliate the parties; and, at all events, continue and consolidate a brotherly union. Many of the southern planters see no evil in slavery, (like myself for many years,) and when unchristian means are used to convince them of their error, instead of convincing it confirms them therein. Few have written more, not many sacrificed more, and not one pities the slave and his children more than myself; but I also pity the master and his children, because I know, by sad experience, that the effeminacy, incontinency, and sensuality produced by slavery, is destructive to the bodies and souls of the last, as its severity, flagellation, and privation is to the slaves. Witness the increase by procreation in the families of the slaves, and the decrease in those of their masters.

I would not believe in the sin of slavery; yet I was a truly sincere religionist, and for two years I heard a voice whispering in reason's ear, these, or words like these, to wit: "How can you profess to love God above all things, and your neighbour as yourself, and yet live at your ease on his labour, and trample on his rights, and do to him what you would not wish him to do to you?" Yes, for two years some good spirit of love was inculcating these, or words like these, upon my juvenile mind, before I would believe and obey. Wherefore, taught by that "power that pitied and bore with my disobedience so long, I have learned to bear with and pity those slaveites, who still see no evil in slavery." If mild and merciful expostulation will not convince them, sure I am the asperity of vituperation will not do it. Let us for a moment view the condition of the black population in the anti-slave states. Here they are often distressed, despised, and degraded; many suffer and perish every winter for want of the necessaries of life; two thousand instances might be given, but let two suffice.

Some years ago, one cold night, I heard one watchman tell another, that in a certain deserted wretched hovel, a

number of vagrants were sleeping; they forthwith went to the place; one of them placed himself before the entrance to the hovel, (which had no door, fire, furniture or fuel,) to keep all these wretched mortals from escaping, while the other sprung his rattle and collected a large posse of watchmen, and had twenty-one taken to the watch-house, chiefly all blacks; they were huddled together like hogs, male and female, blacks and whites promiscuously, and were not making the least noise when they were interrupted as aforesaid; two only were left in the hovel, a female and her new-born babe, in a state of inexpressible wretchedness on the naked floor; one of the prisoners, as she was going to the watch-house, said to me, while the big round tears were falling on her half-famished infant, which appeared to me to be a literal weeping skeleton; I only (said this wretched African) went there to shelter from the storm, and now I must go to prison; and they were all sent to prison next day. One evening last winter, I saw a crowd of people laughing at a poor perishing black man; I immediately helped him up and begged him to come with me where he might get warmed, but he was not able to walk even with my assistance, and none of the crowd would help me till another black man came along and helped me to a neighbourhood where I thought some humane people resided, but none would take him in: at last I offered a woman twenty-five cents to let the poor man come in and warm himself by her stove; she consented, and we helped him over hillocks of snow with great difficulty to her door, which she fastened and would not let him in. He stood some time shivering by the door-post, while I entreated her to let him in, but all in vain; as my only alternative, I had to go and engage a wheel-barrow and convey him to the watch-house, as he was now unable to walk at all; he was dead in the morning, and literally perished for want, surrounded with professional saints, in the city of brotherly love.

When I remember the many miseries I have seen the poor coloured people suffer, I am grieved and pained, and almost provoked. Every day, may be seen in the streets of Philadelphia, this winter, half-frozen and half-naked coloured people, begging from door to door for a morsel of bread to preserve them from starvation! I would humbly ask, if God was grieved at the heart to see the oppression and violence

of the ignorant antediluvians, how must he feel to view the prejudice of opinion and consequent oppression of the citizens of the North, as well as the slavery of the South.

When the King and Court of Heaven looks down on the most enlightened and favoured nation that is or ever was on earth, and beholds their oppressive policy to the Indians, the original proprietors of this land, and the Africans, who changed the frigid forests of America to fertile fields and flower gardens, the stinking swamps to splendid cities, how must he feel, what must he think,—if I, a weak, frail, vile child of mortality feel grieved, how must he feel! See Genesis, chap. vi. verse 6, for answer.

"And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

"And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart."

What is the most refined human parental tenderness, compared to the divine tenderness of our Almighty and all-merciful Redeemer? It is like streams of water compared to the ocean. Do not the birds and beasts of prey, the most blood-thirsty savages and bloody tyrants, feel for their offspring, and even die in their defence, and will God have no feeling for his suffering rational creatures? Did we feel and fight for our fellow citizens in ignoble slavery in Algiers, and in British bondage on the ocean, and not only delivered them from oppression, but also punished their oppressors, and will God do less for his rational offspring, in worse than Algerine or British bondage?

I have seen, and in imagination behold this very moment, the child forced by violence from the mother's embrace, and the whip descending on her naked back. I saw one stroke, and turned away from the shocking sight: also, an old woman bending with age, stretched on the ground and flogged on the bare posteriors, because she forgot to take the pipe out of her mouth when she spoke to her tyrant; and a young mulatto girl with an iron ring round her face, which entered her mouth, so that she could neither spit nor speak—it was fastened with a padlock behind her head; her mistress, a rich and respectable lady, kept the key. Even the little children have to commence their early hardships and sorrows at from

three to five years old. The above old woman was the driver of the children's gang. I see them now, wandering through the plantation naked, under a vertical sun, and picking up from place to place their little bundles of grass, for the horses and mules. The above lady had a slave almost white. (I thought she was white when I first saw her.) She had a child by the overseer, altogether white. I was told, I think by the girl herself, that her mistress sent it, while very young and naked, to toil under and be burned brown by the sun. But time would fail me was I to particularize what I saw and know of the laceration and ruination of their mortal bodies, and the consequent demoralization and desolation of their *immortal souls!*

Mr. Jefferson, in writing on the policy of the Americans to the Africans in the United States, in his "Notes on Virginia," makes these prophetic remarks, to wit:

"The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a smaller circle of slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of one part, and the *amor patriæ* [patriotism] of the other.

"With the morals of the people, their industry is also destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour.

"And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God—that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I

tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! *The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.*"

And we may ascertain the opinion of all the governments of Europe, by the following remarks, written by the Irish patriot and statesman, Mr. O'Connell.

"I have often longed to go to America, but as long as that country is tarnished with slavery, I will never pollute my feet by treading on its shores. I have felt it a necessary duty to arraign the conduct of the Russian despot for his cruelty to the men, women, and children of *Poland*, but much as I detest his actions, there is a climax to my hatred—in the deepest hell, there is a depth still more profound, and that is to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. They laid the foundation of their liberty, by declaring the self-evident truths, that all men are created equal—and endowed with the unalienable rights of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness, and still have the atrocious and murderous injustice to hold their brother men in slavery."

I would also respectfully propose, while so many premiums are offered for well written poems, tales, &c, that some rich patriot would offer a premium to the author of the best written oration on our favourite motto, to be delivered next fourth of July; also, an essay, showing the increase in population, property, prosperity, &c, of the state of Georgia, and the city of Savannah, since I left it, near fifty years ago; and contrasting the same with the increase aforesaid, of Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia, in the same number of years. Also of Virginia and Richmond, with the state and city of New York, and the state of Massachusetts, and city of Boston, with Lower Canada and Quebec. By this means the advantages of liberty over slavery, and republicanism over monarchy, will be proved beyond the possibility of refutation.

We may here for one moment contrast the prosperity of the Northern with the Southern states, by introducing a short quotation from the memorial of the citizens of Wheeling in

Virginia, to their state Legislature, on the impolicy of slavery, in 1832: it reads as follows, viz:

"Slavery retards the growth of our population. Virginia has a territory nearly one-third greater than any of the old thirteen states; is blessed with a delightful climate, fruitful soil, and many of the finest harbours and navigable streams in the world, and had once the largest population of any of the states; her whole population is now less than that of Pennsylvania or New York, and she has fewer white inhabitants than other states which have not one fourth as much territory. In 1789 she had ten representatives in Congress; Pennsylvania had eight, and New York had six,—she will now be entitled to twenty-one, Pennsylvania to twenty-eight, and New York to forty-two.

"It impairs our national strength—for no state can be powerful which is full of internal enemies.

"It is inconsistent with the true spirit of the Christian religion, which teaches us that all men are equal in the eye of God.

"It is degrading to our character as a nation. It is degrading to our national character, not only because it is inconsistent with the principles of liberty and equality, by which we profess to be governed, but because thousands of our citizens are engaged in a traffic, at the bare mention of which humanity must blush—a traffic in human beings!!!

"It must ultimately lead to the most ruinous and destructive servile wars. In many counties our white population is rapidly decreasing, whilst the slaves are every where increasing. In that part of the state lying east of the Blue Ridge, the coloured has gained upon the white population more than one hundred thousand in the last forty years; and it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that that gain must be much more rapid hereafter, than it has been in times past, until at last the disproportion will become so great, we must expect that the horrid scenes of St. Domingo, or such as took place in the island of Jamaica during the last year, will be acted over again in this country."

Whereas the planters of the South had the evil of slavery entailed upon them by their forefathers, without their consent, I would humbly propose to the National Government, individually and collectively, that they appropriate part of

the surplus revenue to accomplish the object the British Parliament has done, to their immortal honour and national advantage; I mean, purchase the liberty of the slaves of the South from their masters; and at the same time compensate the slaves, as Moses commands in Deuteronomy, chap. 15. We ought to have given them the example sixty years ago —can we refuse to follow it now? The British Government are thousands of millions of dollars in debt, and yet went eighty millions more in debt to accomplish this valuable purpose. Who can help admiring this noble action! And if we refuse to imitate it—we, the richest nation on earth—out of debt, with millions of useless dollars in our treasury, who can help despising us, especially if they have read our Declaration of Independence. I think nothing but this will save the republic from disunion and destruction.

Gratitude, in unison with conscience, commands me to say a few words on this vital subject to the citizens of the South. But where can I find words sufficiently eloquent to express a few of the many thoughts that crowd into my mind! Ah! had I the talents of the author of "The Rights of Man," which I read with profitable delight in my youth, pressed the hand that wrote it with reverential friendship, and finally took him for my model and master in politics.

The abolitionists have increased in numbers and respectability within a few years, from thousands to hundreds of thousands. The best and brightest men in the republic, or in the world, are in their ranks; and they have taught their youth to consider the sin of slavery as a God-dishonouring, a country-destroying sin; and that not to use all their powers, at all hazards, to abolish it, peaceably if they can, is to share the crime.

I will now respectfully and affectionately propose to the citizens of the South, to use all lawful means for the revival of patriotism, the preservation of the Federal Union, and the protection of the constitution from all innovators, especially that most estimable part of it which guaranties to all citizens "liberty of speech and the press." To permit this innovation, in order to repress the abolitionists, is like a man cutting off his nose to be revenged of his face, and dooming his posterity to the same punishment: and in case of the dissolution of the Union they would be the greatest sufferers, for

this plain and powerful reason, to wit; at present the citizens of the North are bound to defend them, if an insurrection of their slaves should take place; but then they would have near three millions of deadly enemies in their centre, and an army of hostile foes on their circumference. Would it not be more for their honour, interest, and happiness, to learn, from the patience and forbearance of God to them, to bear with patience the well-meant though severe animadversions of the abolitionist? always remembering what their fathers and grandfathers sacrificed and suffered to purchase the federal union and constitution.

> For them they fought, and conquer'd side by side—
> For their posterity they bled and died.
> And have they bled and have they died in vain!

[Friend Lundy's excellent pamphlet on "The War in Texas," cannot be circulated too widely. I would introduce a large extract, but this has been done, in an 8vo. and a 12mo. stereotyped pamphlet, compiled from strong documents and authorities of all ages and climes, for sale at the anti-slavery offices, entitled "LIBERTY!"]

OPPRESSION EXPOSED.

FROM THE

"PENITENTIAL TYRANT."

AWAKE, my muse, tho' sorrowful to name,
The crimes of infidels baptiz'd proclaim,
Their complicated villanies explore
From Afric's golden coast to India's shore;
Their pride, rage, lust, and tyranny extend,
Then note with horror their tremendous end:
Tell mankind, how their Maker they defy,
And force unwilling vengeance from the sky;
At once their cruelty and av'rice show,
Then boldly strike, and vindicate the blow:
From Scripture, feeling, common sense then prove
The dire resentment of the powers above.
Expose oppression with an honest frown,
Till guilt shrinks back, tho' seated on a throne;
With cruel despots war eternal wage,
Turn love celestial to terrestrial rage,
Till ev'ry visage be with grief impress'd,
Till pity throb in ev'ry human breast,
Till tears and indignation rise by turns,
Till ev'ry heart with Christian anger burns,
Till crimson paints each face, and sorrows flow,
Till mortals tribute pay to mortals' wo.
"Not he who cannot weep, but he who can,
Shows the great soul, and proves himself a man."
Beneath the pond'rous load what millions groan,
For vice, for guilt, for folly, not their own,

By epicures, by hypocrites oppressed,
Bereav'd of life, of liberty, and rest.
Strip black oppression of her false disguise,
And make the hag in shades infernal rise!
Strike her—strike pride—strike lawless rapine dead,
Bid exil'd virtue raise her drooping head;
This aim be thine, be this thy noble end,
To show mankind—that man has yet a friend;
With virtue folly, love with lust contrast,
Judge manners reigning by the manners past.
Such venal faith, and such misplac'd applause;
Such pamper'd guilt, and such inverted laws;
Such poor unhappy wretches I have seen
Oppressed, by what are call'd RELIGIOUS MEN!
Such nations crush'd—and nations of the brave,
And millions doom'd to an untimely grave;
Such bold brave warriors (bold and brave in vain)
By artful Christians robb'd, enslav'd, and slain.
Oh! may I never stand where once I stood—
View hills and dales all died with crimson blood,
See verdant fields all clotted stiff with gore,
Which ne'er were stain'd with human blood before.
Alas! my soul the shocking din sustains,
Which makes the blood hang shiv'ring in my veins!
I've seen behaviour in this cruel race,
Which naming would the very brute disgrace;
I know their artful mazes of deceit,
Their systematic guile and artful wit.
Have I not seen the wounds their sabres gave,
To each dejected, weeping, dying slave;
Have I not seen the blood of hundreds shed!
The injur'd maid forc'd to her tyrant's bed!
The frantic father stain'd with filial blood,
Who with his children ting'd the crimson wood;
His violated consort dragg'd away
Thro' woods, o'er seas, to wicked man a prey,
And doom'd to misery, though once possess'd
Of love, peace, joy, with ev'ry blessing bless'd.
She cries, she shrieks; the fierce insulting foe
Relentless mocks her violence of wo:
Distressing sympathy surrounds my heart,

And tender pity melts in ev'ry part;
For them in vain I grieve, for them I sigh,
Yet still they groan, weep, languish, bleed, and die,
Alas! their pains how dismal and severe,
Their moving plaints still vibrate on my ear;
Compell'd to labour for their Christian foes,
To plant the cane, oppressed with mighty woes;
Their sweat and tears must drench them ere they grow
Their sighs must fan them, and their blood must flow.
"Unhappy fate, while ere the dawn of day,
Rous'd by the bell, they go their cheerless way;
And as their souls with pain and anguish burn,
Salute with groans unwelcome morn's return;
And chiding ev'ry hour the slow pac'd sun,
Pursue their toils, till all his race is run:
No eye to mark their suff'rings with a tear,
No friend to comfort them, nor hope to cheer!
Then like the poor unpitied brutes repair,
To dens as wretched, and as coarse a fare—
Thank Heav'n one day of misery is o'er,
Then sink to sleep, and wish to wake no more!"
How seldom think the volatile and gay,
While sipping their luxurious sweeten'd tea,
How oft they help to pierce the warrior's breast,
Rob him of life, of liberty, and rest!
And that to gain the plant we idly waste,
Tremendous pain, and grief profound they taste.
How seldom think prime ministers of state,
The legislator, senator, the great,
On them, alas! who cheerless and forlorn,
Pass painful nights and meet a joyless morn.
Thus pompous, in their equipage they boast,
But little do they think on Afric's coast;
On groaning, dying slaves, by them oppress'd,
Bereav'd of life, of liberty, and rest;
Oppress'd, alas! by these imperial foes,
With grief profound, unutterable woes.
View this, ye potentates, with riches blest,
Let the idea wound each tender breast;
And bleed your hearts with agonizing pain,
Then tempt the laughing wine—but tempt in vain;

Nor golden slumbers close your weeping eyes,
While imag'd to your minds their sorrows rise;
For them unhappy, to distresses born!
For you I tremble, but for them I mourn.
Remembrance sad exhibits to my view,
Sights which must open all their wounds anew;
I view their wrongs, while on the roaring waves,
I saw them languish, and I saw them slaves,
Been basely seiz'd while in the dire alarms
Of war, rage, slaughter, and the clash of arms;
What first, what last, what here I now relate,
Brings to my wounded mind their wretched fate;
Nay, as I write, methinks I hear them moan,
Tear following tear, and groan succeeding groan;
Struck at the sight, I melt at human wo,
While down my cheeks the tears unbidden flow;
Of all the great, the pamper'd great, how few
Are true to heaven, and to their neighbour true;
Their dire injustice to the friendless poor,
Calls for more plagues than vengeance has in store;
Kind nature starts with horror at their cries,
Much more the Ruler of the Earth and Skies;
Soon, soon that God his justice will display,
And chase oppressors from the face of day;
Hurl'd down to hell by Heaven's Almighty Sire,
Transfix'd with vengeance and involv'd in fire;
Tremendous ire o'er Christendom impends,
He comes, and direful wrath his steps attends.
The day, the day will come, that dreadful day!
How my soul shudders while my thoughts survey
The fall of tyrants, and their dire distress,
Who to the injur'd were quite pitiless;
By faith I see from the tremendous pole,
An angry God, and hear his thunders roll,
See his red arm the fiery vengeance shed,
Shake death eternal o'er each guilty head;
Tyrants, repent! I tremble as I write,
Tyrannic nations flame before my sight.
To him poor Africans their cause resign,
To him, good, gracious, merciful, divine;
Th' Impartial Judge, and Sov'reign of the skies.

Has heard, and hears the moaning captives' cries;
And, with benignant love, he now declares,
Their cares are his, his boundless mercy theirs:
Their potent friend in their behalf will rise,
Their numerous foes the injur'd God defies,
To him the helpless never sue in vain,
His nature, mercy—LOVE, his darling name;
But cruel tyrants, still to sin inclin'd,
Are to all dangers, but the present, blind;
Their thoughts are all employ'd on evils near,
But ills remote they ne'er foresee or fear;
With brutish rage the blackest sins they run,
And never fear the wickedness, till done—
And guilt has always this attending curse,
To back the first transgression with a worse.
Abhorr'd by man, despotic traitors grow,
The earth's disgrace, and Heaven's relentless foe.
They fear man's eye, when they would act a sin,
But dread not Heaven, nor the judge within.
Their dreadful crimes to mighty sums amount,
And yet they still augment the black account.
While golden hours are hastening, and gone,
And like a stream the year glides swiftly on;
Nor sex nor age the grim destroyer spares,
Unmov'd alike by infancy and years;
Like poor unhappy slaves their tyrants lie,
And, like commanders, common ruffians die;
Each has his mansion in a narrow cell,
Equal in colour and alike in smell;
Why then should despots of their riches boast,
So difficult to gain, so quickly lost?
Blind they rejoice, nor deprecate their wo,
Their doom profound, and their celestial foe—
Their guilt, rage, pride, and cruelty proclaim,
Oh! sing their guilt, my muse! their want of shame.
When all their hopes are blasted, and they see
They're doom'd to linger life in misery.
Grant the mild master kindly treats them well—
Few such there are, and I who know can tell;
Grant that those masters plenteous meals prepare,
Tho' well I know their food is scant and bare!

Yet then, e'en then, can comfort on them wait,
Degraded to a wretched servile state?
And they, once chieftains in their natal land,
Now bound in chains, and trembling at command;
Naked, expos'd to Phœbus' sultry beams,
Like horses work'd, then fed on dry coarse beans!
Now dead to hope, they see resistance vain,
They in their valiant breasts conceal their pain;
While silent grief to furious rage succeeds,
And fill'd with anger, every bosom bleeds;
Thus in despair, their necks refuse the yoke,
He calls them stubborn, and applies the stroke.
Their lacerated backs the scourges show,
Still they invincible, no tremours know;
Their strength intrepid, claims a nobler name,
And shows not theirs, but th ir oppressor's shame.
Immodest to the view, his limbs disclos'd
To summer's suns, and wintry winds expos'd;
Tasks, not design'd for man to prove, consume
His valiant strength, and fade his manly bloom;
And to complete his misery, he must
See wife and daughter serve promiscuous lust—
Nor dare complain! * * * * * *
No faithful service, and no zeal can please
His cruel tyrant, nor his rage appease;
Deep wounds the arbitrary lash imprints,
Or falling club his mangled frame disjoints;
While scurril taunts, with fearful menace join'd,
Augment past smarts with dread of worse behind;
And lo! around his glancing eye surveys
Of wretches, like himself, a num'rous race.
No friendly cot receives his weary head,
But, mix'd with brutes, the earth's his common bed;
The skies shed noxious dews; unwholesome steams
Rise from the ground, and pierce his aching limbs;
No soft repose the shades of night impart,
Pain racks his frame, and anguish rends his heart;
Or, if short slumbers seal his weeping eyes,
The horrors of the day in visions rise,
In dreams the Christian's cruel voice he hears,
And to his view the knotty scourge appears;

Beneath the scorching sun, in toilsome pain,
He seems to groan, and call for death in vain;
With brutal thought, his tyrant's dire command
To nuptial ties compels his struggling hand;
But when to multiply the servile kind,
And take the mate, which chance presents, enjoin'd;
Doom'd to beget a race of slaves to groan
Beneath the woes their wretched sire had known;
The mournful pair prolific pleasures dread,
And pray incessant for a barren bed—
And when the babe is born to living light,
Struck to the heart, they sicken at the sight.
In this respect, none but a parent knows
Their sad regret—in them no transport glows,
No gentle joy rewards the mother's throes:
Untouch'd with soft delight, the sire surveys
His features op'ning in the infant's face;
But with sad vows invokes an early grave
To hide from Christian's rage the infant slave—
This all the hope his conscious heart receives—
This all the blessing to the babe he gives.
While imag'd to his sadden'd thought appears
The dreaded doom that waits his manly years.
The mother views, and wounded to the heart,
With keener pangs of agonizing smart;
Fast down her wo-worn cheeks the sorrows flow—
She faints—transfix'd with agonies of wo.
The wond'ring boy in sorrow takes a part,
And weeps their sorrow with an infant's heart;
No longer can her wretched partner bear
The mighty grief—but sunk in black despair—
While his warm bosom equal horrors wound,
He trembles, groans, and sinks upon the ground;
Alas! to live again—their tyrant near,
Beholds their grief without a tender tear;
Woes not his own his bosom never felt,
For hell and av'rice never, never melt.
The dreadful lash again to labour drives,
And each to life and usual pain revives;
While penury of food but ill repairs
The mighty labour sinking nature bears;

Oppress'd with grief and agonizing pain,
The sire sinks dead upon the labour'd plain,
While the fierce tyrant with his whip in vain
Commands him to renew his toil again:
Worn out with labour, and oppress'd with grief,
At last kind death has brought the slow relief.
In him see all our individual wo,
And more than tongue can tell, or mind can know.
For though God's mercy does no limits know,
His justice must have satisfaction too;
These attributes in equal balance lie,
And one cannot the other's rights deny.
You, whom kind Heav'n with copious wealth has blest,
Lend back to Heav'n, by aiding the distress'd;
'Tis yours the sons of anguish to relieve,
To cheer the poor, nor let affliction grieve;
To sympathize and melt at human wo,
Is what the wealthy to th' unhappy owe.
By Heav'n the poor and fatherless are sent,
And what to these we give, to God is lent;
But how can tyrants hope to be forgiv'n,
And still rebel against the laws of Heav'n?
"Preserve us, Lord, from evil," can they pray,
Yet wilfully pursue the evil way?
Do the oppress'd their tender pity share?
And are the wretched their peculiar care?
Do they the wo-worn stranger's wrongs redress,
And for the widows spread the couch of rest?
If not, their pray'rs are base impertinence,
Insulting reason, truth, and common sense;
They make the Lord, of all beings the worst,
By dignity debas'd, by blessings curst;
They say in substance that they do him find,
Capricious, cruel to the human kind;
Like Christian traitors, brutal, base, unjust,
Alike in cruelty, alike in lust!
Pleas'd with destruction, and with mortal wounds,
With scenes of blood, and agonizing sounds;
And with fierce tyrants in the mortal fight,
And ruffians, when they take their brother's right;
With crimson slaughter, and with death profound,

And carnage piled on carnage, throngs the ground;
More cruel than the thief, whose bloody knife
At once deprives the trembling wretch of life;
More cruel than the roaring beasts of prey,
Who, to appease their hunger, tear and slay—
The most despotic judge of human kind,
Though void of justice, and to sin inclin'd,
Would melt to tears, could he but view the woes
Of Africans, and see their cruel foes.
And is our God more cruel than the worst
Of mortal tyrants, partial and unjust?
No! love, grace, mercy, and his truth shall last,
While æther shines with golden planets grac'd;
E'en now he pities, as in days of yore,
The friendless, helpless, fatherless, and poor.
Shall not the universal Judge descend,
While judgments his majestic steps attend,
And with resentment, tyrants fierce pursue,
To present, future, and eternal wo,
He saves the captive, sets the pris'ner free.
Such is his justice, such his clemency;
His vengeance shall like lightning swift pursue,
Enslaving traders, and the sinful crew.
I answer thus: "Behold Messiah shine
In mercy great, in charity divine;
On all his works his love inscrib'd we find,
His sov'reign goodness, and productive mind;
His works how various, with what pow'r endued,
Good in their origin, in nature good.
Inspir'd by thee, guest of celestial race,
With generous love, we human kind embrace;
We bless the orphan, make the widow blest,
And for the stranger spread the couch of rest;
The pris'ner visit, bound in galling chains,
The naked clothe, and sooth the sick man's pains;
While down our cheeks the tender sorrows flow,
We feel our brother's grief, our brother's woe;
Feel sympathetic love for all our race,
And circle mankind in one kind embrace;
Our greatest grief is to see human wo,
Yet can't relieve, or dry the tears that flow.

Protect th' oppress'd, and plead the poor man's cause,
Pursue the holy path that justice draws.
Riot and wine but for a season please,
Delights they may enjoy, but never ease.
Abundance cloys, of riches, love, or song,
"We want but little, nor that little long."
Behold the shepherd, see th' industr'ous swain,
Who ploughs the field, or reaps the golden grain;
How cheap, and yet how tasteful is their fare,
How sweet their sleep, their souls how free from care;
They drink the streaming crystal, and escape
Th' inflaming juices of the purple grape;
And to protect their limbs from rig'rous air,
Garments, their own domestic work, they wear.

THE GUARDIAN GENII OF THE FEDERAL UNION.

"United, we stand—Divided, we fall."

THE

BEAUTIES

OF

PHILANTHROPY.

EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF ITS DISCIPLE.

"*Go, and do thou likewise.*"—Luke, chap. x.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SELECTIONS AND ENGRAVINGS.

I profess to be a PHILANTHROPIST, *I seek no better name.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

PHILANTHROPY literally means love of the human family; HUMANITY embraces likewise all animals; the principle is one; the two terms naturally, and in this book, positively imply each other. In this selection, the various modes of oppression, arising from age, birth, wealth, race, sex, faith and government, have in part been treated of distinctly, but they often coalesce into each other, or into their common source.—Cruelty, which, under all its forms, is the same human monster. Little is here introduced from the author's literary, scientific, political, religious or miscellaneous publications, (which are enumerated in his memoirs,) the progress of the press having abundantly supplied the reading public on such topics; but as a useful comprehensive book of morals, it may be pledged against any single original volume, and in proportion to its amount of extracts, with any book of compilations. Our author is an enthusiast in doing good; he writes with his heart in his hand. But while constantly inculcating universal beneficence, he must not be understood to derogate from the indispensable practice of industry, economy, and foresight. "Self preservation is the first law of nature;" "Charity begins at home;" "We must be just to ourselves that we may be just to others;" "He who provides not for his own household is worse than [illegible]fidel;" "If each provided for *one*, all the world would [illegible]ided for:" But while keeping a good look out for numb[illegible], each is bound also to respect the rights and feelings, and [illegible]itigate the wants and sufferings of all others. Indeed this work, by exposing the world's heartless customs and frozen charity, tends to caution the unwary as well as to enliven the stupid, and prevent, as well as palliate moral evils. The author has, during his eventful life, possessed great opportunities for observa-

tion and talent for reflection; the result is before the public. If any are disposed to censure the sincerity or severity of his strictures or selections, they will find at the end of the volume, the sermon of Jesus Christ, in whose gospel he is a believer, and of whose precepts a practiser. The reward of virtue is a crown of thorns. To reform abuses, is to excite the villainy of the knaves that live by them, and the violence of their dupes and tools. The honest language of the author is, "All the favor I ask of the public is, to read the book before they are offended and condemn it, for to reprobate without reading it, is ungenerous and unjust. And if they read and will not buy, I will thank them more than if they purchased, and refused to read it, as my object is not to make money, but to do good."

This book is accordingly put at a low price, to bring it within the reach of all classes, and to induce those who are friendly, to purchase freely for use and for distribution. The stereotype plates will be sold at cost, reserving a right for the author's use; or they will be loaned gratuitously, to any responsible publishers who will sell the work cheap in proportion. Besides variations in arrangement and verbal alterations, the sentences in brackets [ ] in this book, have been inserted by a friend of the author, because a friend of Liberty and Humanity.]

THE BEAUTIES OF PHILANTHROPY.

It is a phenomenon as well as a fact, that even sincere Christians are extremely liable to form incorrect conceptions of the attributes of the Almighty, and are consequently led into the labyrinths of error and delusion, practically as well as intellectually, (as millions of the human family unhappily are,) through the above medium. They do not recollect that the super-eminent beneficence of the Deity is exhibited to their view in the book of Creation and Revelation, in order to stimulate them to fulfil the diversified duties of the same philanthropy, in the various avocations of life. Indeed, the Christian's philanthropy should be in proportion, what the Almighty's is in perfection. I have, therefore, with a pure and disinterested desire to be useful to my fellow travellers to the grave, put down a few thoughts on this subject: that they may be rendered a powerful stimulus to the performance of charitable actions, and a blessing of eternal duration to the sincere inquirer after truth, is the importunate prayer of their affectionate friend in Christ.

"When the music of the spheres began," and the machinery of the universe commenced its perpetual motion, God said, "Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness. And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them." We must conclude, that it was in the MORAL likeness of God man was created; i. e. with a mind pure and pious, benevolent and gracious.

It is self-evident, that a good God, or even a good man, cannot approbate any thing that is evil or unlike themselves; they must hold it in utter abhorrence. The unmerciful man, therefore, is held in contempt, and his conduct execrated by that Being whose essence is mercy and whose name is love.

It appears that the primary object God has in view, in his moral government, is the felicity of his creatures; to accomplish which he uses every means which infinite sagacity can devise (consistent always with man's free agency) to enlighten their minds; as he well knows that without the knowledge of the truth no real felicity can be enjoyed. But notwithstanding all his gracious endeavours, the majority of his creatures are wilfully blind to the things which make for their present and eternal peace, in which number thousands of the professed votaries of religion may be included. How often do the slaves of bigotry not only deviate and wander through a maze of the most absurd, monstrous, and sometimes diabolical errors themselves, but compel their fellow creatures to maintain the same errors, with a warmth bordering on fury, and deciding for the rest of mankind with savage ferocity, imposing even upon the faith of posterity. This is one principal cause of the profound ignorance, gross imaginations, turbulent passions, and implacable tyranny of millions of intelligent beings, who were intended by their Creator to be the protectors and not the extirpators of their fellow worms. Thus the religion of Christ has been corrupted by a thousand illusions and superstitions, and the motives to virtue perverted, enervated, and almost annihilated. What then can be more necessary, than to disencumber religion of the ceremonies, formalities, and errors which corrupt it, and endeavour to exhibit it in its own native simplicity and primitive purity? Pure religion is neither less nor more than loving God supremely, and his rational creatures affectionately, and this religion has a natural and necessary tendency to assimilate us into the lovely likeness of our divine original. I would entreat the reader to ask his own common sense what the best of Beings could do for him more than what he has already done.

The happiness of his creatures must undoubtedly have been his primary object and end in the formation of the world: he could propose no benefit to himself, except the ineffable satisfaction of opening sources of pleasurable gratification, and dispensing his boundless benedictions to his creatures. He has declared himself in the scriptures, to be *the Lord God, merciful, gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.*

No [illegible] The Bible displays more brilliantly the good will of God to man, than the glorious gospel of peace; it abounds with interesting matter, which proclaims, in an unequivocal manner, that "his love is as great as his power, and neither knows measure nor end;" He has peremptorily commanded us on pain of his eternal displeasure, to imitate him in all his imitable perfections, and above all to be merciful, as he is merciful; holy, as he is holy; perfect (in love) as he is perfect. *Because perfect love casteth out all servile fear.* Can we be then so unreasonably stupid as to suppose, that the good Shepherd can approbate his professional votaries, whom he has blessed and placed in his spiritual vineyard, to be the active, not indolent cultivators thereof? I say, can he approve of their idleness? Let any impartial man read St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, thirteenth chapter, on *practical charity*, and he will there see what kind of Christians those are, who can spend hundreds of dollars on superfluities, and yet forsooth cannot afford God a single one, by distributing it among his poor, who abound in every nation, city, town, and state; so that the parsimonious or selfish professor will have no excuse in the day of retribution.

I conceive the reason religion is so much talked of and so little practised, is, because its nature is so little understood; pure religion takes its seat in the soul of man, and irresistibly stimulates to the most super-excellent actions, as well as super-eminent professions. I would ask, what was the means of grace established for? I answer, to stimulate men to practise universal philanthropy: if it does not answer this salutary purpose it is of no intrinsic value. For instance, we will suppose that two persons are convened at the august tribunal of Jehovah, when he comes to judge the sons of men according to their works, and not according to their professions. We will suppose that one of these is a practical philanthropist, and the other a professional Christian; the first was always solicitous from principle to do good to his fellow creatures, and circle all men to the utmost of his power in one kind embrace. The other was a strict sectarian and a constant attendant on religious ordinances, stimulated thereto, first by servile fear, secondly by use, which is second nature, but alas! felt no solicitude for the amelioration of the distresses of his fellow-worms, no sympathy warmed his frozen

heart, no philanthropy stimulates his inactive hand for the interests of human nature, and for the relief of human wretchedness. We will suppose that the glorious Judge, seated on his great white throne, supported on the wings of cherubims, is about to deliver the exhilarating invitation. (St. Matthew, chap. xxv.) "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom, &c. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat, thirsty, and ye gave me drink, a stranger, and ye took me in, naked, and ye clothed me, sick, and ye visited me, in prison, and ye came unto me." I would ask, which of the antecedent persons would the Judge address the above language to? I anticipate your answer. *Undoubtedly the philanthropist.* That man must be either a knave or a fool, who can suppose that God would tell a notorious falsehood, by applying it to the indolent, inactive professor. The address applicable to them is, Go, ye cursed, &c. Is it not truly astonishing, that many indolent, and at the same time pompous professors of religion, can read the above passage and not feel interested therein; though they live in the habitual neglect of these social virtues, can spend their substance in the foolish decoration of their families, without appropriating one dollar per annum to the above purposes; or visiting in that period even once (except it is by accident) the sick, the prisoner, the fatherless, and the widow! Surely such people must be deluded by the devil, not to see the futility of their punctuality in attending the means of grace, while they neglect the mercy and morality intended to be encouraged and promoted thereby. I would not upon any account invalidate the means of grace; it is our indispensable duty to attend them with reverence; they are of infinite advantage to the sincere inquirer after truth, and will be a witness against the nominal professor through eternity; because *they that know their Master's will and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.* Religion does not consist in plain clothes and a sanctified countenance, which too many assume on Sunday and relinquish on Monday. Indeed, the body has no other share in religion, than merely to discover by actions the heart of the mind, not by gesture; for if I see a brother in want and will not relieve him, if it is in my power so to do, how can my soul be animated with the love of God, or Christian philanthropy? It is impossible. But something more is required than merely

the external acts of relieving; I mean internal, social, and sympathetic commiseration. View the Pharisees: who gave alms more than they? who fasted and prayed more than they? who attended the outward ordinances of God more than they? and yet Christ has expressly informed us, that unless our righteousness exceeds theirs, we shall never inherit eternal life. Well might he say, *many are called* by my name, *but few are chosen* imitators of my divine philanthropy. But why need I bring forward the ancient Pharisees to prove the force of my argument? The Mahometans themselves are so exemplary in the outward ceremonies of religion, as any people: for instance, there are no less than five stated times of prayer in the twenty-four hours, all of which are fixed as indispensable, and the fervency of their prayers exceeds even their frequency. When the notification for prayer is heard, (which is generally by the tolling of a bell,) the true Mahometan, let him be where, or doing what he will, whether in his shop, on the road, in the market, or even walking through the mire, instantly falls down on his knees, and worships, by repeating his periodical prayers. Even charity, that glorious doctrine I am endeavouring to vindicate, as well as inculcate, is enjoined by the Koran, under the most terrific denunciations of Divine vengeance in case of neglect; and no bounds are set to religious hospitality and liberality. Hence, some good Mussulmen give half their property to the poor, nay, some give all and live themselves upon alms; because poverty is no where respected so much as among the Turks. Abstinence is also particularly enjoined as a religious duty among them, especially in the month of Ramadan, during which they neither eat, drink, sleep nor converse with their wives, from sun-rise till the stars appear in the evening; and they are punished with death who break this fast. If, therefore, the formalities of religion entitle sectarians to an inheritance incorruptible, though they are destitute of the internal fruit of the spirit, surely the Mahometan will stand a better chance for heaven than the lukewarm nominal professor of Christianity; inasmuch as the apparent devotion of the one is more warm, energetic, and consistent than that of the other. It astonishes me to reflect, that any man of common sense does not at once see how preposterous it is to profess religion, and not practically feel for the miseries of the human family.

Even leaving religion out of the question, can he be a man (I will not say a Christian) who is destitute of humanity? It is impossible! He is a monster in the shape of a man. Can we be so unreasonable as to suppose, that God will hear the prayers of the person who shutteth up his bowels of compassion against his brother? God could abundantly enrich every individual of the human race without impoverishing himself; but it is his will to try the poor, by suffering them to be such, and in order to send them to the rich man's door, to prove to him in time, as well as in eternity, what kind of a soul he possesses; and I may add, the sons and daughters of misfortune are especially ordered by Providence to stand in the path of the professors of religion, to prove to them the world to the saving value of their piety, for God knows it already; but it is his will that they should know it also, before it is eternally too late for remedy. Witness the conduct of the Levite and the priest, who beheld with the side glance of inhumanity the man who fell among the thieves; I will be bold to say, the devil had as much real philanthropy as these two unfeeling devotees, and if the person who acts in the same manner is not wilfully blind, he would at once see that he is no better in the sight of that God, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. But admitting our liberality knows no bounds, yet there is no room for vanity or vanity, because we are only liberal with what we are merely intrusted with, for the express purpose of feeding the poor, clothing the naked, &c. But, says one, "I cannot afford to practise charity; moreover, there is sufficient provision made for the poor in our country already." I answer, the furniture in your houses, the superfluous and absurd appendages on your children, the luxury of your tables, all will rise up to give you the lie, as it respects the first excuse; and the poor families, wretched individuals, and souls perishing for lack of knowledge, in miserable hovels, and in different parts of your town or neighbourhood, give you the lie in form as it respects the second subterfuge. You may depend upon it, these trifling excuses will not do in the day of judgment, when even the righteous man, i. e. the real charitable Christian, *shall scarcely be saved*, and "when consternation shall turn even the good man pale."

We will suppose a professor of religion is worth eight hun-

dred dollars per annum, and four hundred dollars will support him and his family in a comfortable and decent manner; we will suppose he reserves one hundred dollars a year for extraordinary emergencies, such as sickness or bodily imbecility. Three hundred dollars therefore remain unappropriated, which may be of infinite benefit or injury to the owner, his family, and his neighbours. If he employs it in promoting the temporal or spiritual good of the poor, he lays up a treasure in Heaven, which will be eternally accumulating interest, and will produce the most exquisitely tender and pleasurable feelings in the human breast, even in this life, paramount to all the imaginary and delusive gratifications of the epicure, the sensualist, or the miser. But a contrary line of conduct will not only counteract the will of God, by rendering that useless which he intended for a blessing to his creatures, but will be much worse than useless; it will be rendered extremely pernicious for the following reasons: it is sacrificed at the shrine of Satan; it is constituted his auxiliary to corrupt mankind; it is spent to support wrong tempers, bad habits, and evil desires, which eventuate in man's perdition. It was not the righteous, (I again repeat,) but sinners Jesus came to save. Yes, Jesus came to seek and to save that which was lost, and his language to his faithful followers is, *Go ye and do likewise*. For another excuse, the selfish Christian will say, "You had better attend to some other duties of religion, and particularly to the means of grace more regularly, before you attend to charitable associations." I would in return ask for what purpose was the means of grace instituted? I answer, for the express purpose of stimulating to the conscientious fulfilment of all social and sympathetic, filial and fraternal virtues. If, therefore, they do not answer this salutary purpose, they are of no utility, except it is to keep people out of greater mischief. Would it not be ridiculous for a soldier to spend all his time in learning his manual exercise, while his comrades were fighting the enemies of his country; or a mariner to spend all his moments in the harbour, preparing his vessel for her voyage, without ever attempting to proceed to sea? Equally as ridiculous is it, to be scrupulous in the performance of the ceremonial duties of religion, while we neglect to practise charity; to do as well as say, to watch as well as pray, and to pity

and relieve God's poor from day to day, in imitation of Jesus. We can give nothing, but what has graciously been bestowed upon us; and "it is more blessed to give than to receive." Do we mean to insult the God we worship, by entreating him to bless and relieve the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, the fatherless and widow, the stranger and prisoner, and at the same time, not only neglect to perform these social and sympathetic duties in our own persons, but even oppose those desirous of literally fulfilling the petitions continually ascending every Sabbath from every Christian church. When you pray to the Almighty to "Defend and provide for the poor and the needy, and all that are desolate and oppressed," whom do you expect he will send to relieve and provide for these children of affliction? You cannot expect he will send the devil, neither his mortal nor immortal auxiliaries; nor can we suppose that God will send his angels from heaven to fulfil the duties of philanthropy, (though it would be their highest ambition to do it,) at least while he has sons and servants (or if you please saints) on earth; and those who are indeed his saints take supreme delight in obeying his mandates in this respect, while his professional votaries will make a thousand excuses to avoid the charitable duties of religion. In short, *religion without philanthropy is the religion of Hell.* But there is another hackneyed excuse which will be used by the uncharitable. They will say, we cannot relieve that stranger, because he may be an impostor; nor that beggar, for it will be an encouragement to their fraternity; nor that man whose house has been recently burned, because he may be a bad man: nor will we encourage the Benevolent Society, because they will peradventure relieve such vile wretches. And I would ask, if they do, is it not what God does every day, by letting his sun shine upon the evil and the good? If God acted towards such persons as they act to their fellow-creatures, how soon would they be swept from the face of the earth. We should carefully relieve the stranger, lest we should not see him again in this world, and relieve all the poor we see, either with food, clothes or money, (or even a sympathetic tear,) as our prudence may direct; and thus imitate God, who sendeth rain on the just and unjust.

A sick bed will preach a more useful and salutary sermon, than a thousand divines put together. *Is it not laudable for*

Christians to join together, to provoke each other to love and good works? I have visited more persons in affliction in one day, while I belonged to the Hospitable Society, than I did for six years, when I did not belong to it; and if I visited any in that six years, it was merely by accident.

Women are always considered more tender hearted than our sex; in them the milk of human kindness flows copiously. I would ask, can any thing exalt the character of a woman so much as a compassionate, sympathetic disposition? Do not the tears of pity, which steal from the eyes and trickle down the ruddy or the pallid cheeks of the gentle philanthropist, for the woes of a child of misfortune, appear more brilliant, and render her more intrinsically valuable, than all the jewels and flowers of gold which ever glittered on the robes of royal or imperial coquets?

The trust reposed in mothers by the Almighty, is of the first magnitude; and you are bound by the most sacred obligations, to bring your children up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, by inculcating the precepts of *humanity* and *mercy* upon their juvenile minds, from their earliest age. It is a maxim with our sex, and a tyrannical maxim it is, "That women are only to be seen, not heard." Is not such usurpation commensurate with Turkish barbarity? Surely no woman of sense and discernment, can submit to such innovation. They should vindicate their native dignity, and assert the right with which the God of nature has endowed them. Are you not, as our sex, made in the image of God, and the candidates for immortality? Are you not, therefore, called of him to improve your talents, to do good in your day and generation? Will you then let the prejudice of education, the tyranny of custom, or the usurpation of our sex rob you of your crowns, and bereave you of your celestial rewards in a coming world, which will be exactly commensurate with your personal, not hereditary labour of love? In the Jewish synagogues, there were prophetesses, and in the primitive Christian church, there were deaconesses, who were particularly appointed to provide for the necessities of the poor: such was Phebe, mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. chapter xvi.—Why then should women in modern times be rendered mere ciphers in the church of God? Indeed, women are particularly, I may say, indispensably needful, in the antecedent charity; as there are

often females brought to the brink of the grave, by certain maladies, which none but women should visit: at least it would be indelicate for even good men to visit them. Seeing, then, that the duty to which I call your most serious attention is of such importance, and of such a nature, that unless we attend to it in our own persons, (and not by proxy, while we can personally attend,) we must undoubtedly hear the Almighty Judge address us in these awful words: "Depart, ye cursed!—For I was sick, and ye visited me not." And be assured, it will answer you no purpose then, that you punctually and perseveringly attended all the other means of grace in this world, if you neglect this important duty. If you feel your judgments convinced of the necessity and utility of this duty, let not the impression wear off; which it assuredly will, if you neglect to practise the same with indefatigable assiduity. Perhaps you will say, even the most religious men, and ministers of the gospel, are criminally negligent in this part of their duty: we will therefore wait till they show us the example. Nay, but I would rather advise you to show them the example, and let your philanthropy put them to the blush. An ingenious and generous citizen of Trenton informed me of the benevolence of a certain deist, named Kirkbride; and that it was a common saying that he did more acts of charity in one year, than all the ministers of the gospel in the Jersey put together. And I fear the observation is too true. How different is the conduct of the present, and of the primitive ministers of religion; or even the poet's "Village preacher:"

"A man he was to all the country dear;
And passing rich, with forty pounds a year.
Remote from towns, he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had chang'd, nor wish'd to change his place.
For other aims his heart had learn'd to prize,
More skill'd to raise the wretched than to rise.
His house was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wanderings, but reliev'd their pain.
The long remembered beggar was his guest,
Whose beard descending, swept his aged breast.
The ruin'd spendthrift, now no longer proud,
Claim'd kindred there, and had his claims allow'd.
The broken soldier kindly bade to stay,
Sat by the fire, and talk'd the night away.
Wept o'er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done,
Shoulder'd his crutch, and show'd how fields were won.

Pleas'd with his guests, the good man learn'd to glow,
And quite forgot their vices in their wo:
Careless their merits, or their faults to scan,
His pity gave ere charity began.
Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side,
But in his duty prompt at ev'ry call,
He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt for all.
And as the bird each fond endearment tries,
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allur'd to brighter worlds, and led the way.
Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain by turns dismay'd,
The reverend champion stood. At his control
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul:
Comfort came down, the trembling wreck to raise,
And his last falt'ring accents whisper'd praise."

All are bound to fulfil the duties of philanthropy; both young and old, rich and poor, bond and free, learned and illiterate, those who can spare thousands, and those who can spare only two mites, or even a sympathetic tear. As Christ has positively declared, that he will deliver the subsequent address to his servants; word for word, it is impossible that he can apply it to any but those to whom it is applicable; for surely we cannot suppose the source of truth can tell a palpable lie, in the presence of assembled worlds, by saying, "Come, ye blessed, for I was sick, and ye visited me;" when in fact they lived in the total neglect of this benevolent duty, during their probationary state in this world. Though millions of men believe that women have no souls, and consequently that they will not be received after death into immortal glory, yet I have reason to believe that the number of women who will be so happy as to attain this blessedness, will exceed the number of our sex, because they are more susceptible of social and sympathetic emotions, and consequently are more easily stimulated to fulfil the duties of philanthropy. How super-eminently amiable is that woman, whose sympathies melt at human wo, and whose eyes shed pearls of transcendent lustre over the child of affliction! This brings to mind the munificent and refined sensibility of Mrs. A****, (I mention the initials of her name with gratitude and veneration,) who visited my poor infant a few weeks ago in his last sickness; when she entered the room, and looked

upon his languid face and glassy eyes, struck dumb with tender emotion—

> Compassion touch'd her pure pathetic soul,
> And down her cheek a tear spontaneous stole;
> Swift and more swift, unbidden sorrows rise,
> And pearly drops roll'd from her radiant eyes!

She continued in this situation at least ten minutes, before she uttered even a monosyllable. Though she could not relieve the child, yet her benevolent solicitude proved a solace to my agonizing heart, and a cordial to my desponding mind. I felt as much gratitude for her unsolicited commiseration, as if she had presented me with five hundred dollars; more particularly, as she was previously unacquainted with us. The child died a few days after. The above circumstance, with my own feelings, proves to me that we may visit the sick with benefit, and alleviate the sufferings of the children of affliction, even without administering pecuniary relief. Hence the poor Christian philanthropist can impart that which is better than silver or gold,—DIVINE CONSOLATION.

Next to the Hospitable or Benevolent Society, I think one might be established in each of our large cities and towns where they have not been already organized, of a different description, yet of almost equal utility: I mean a Magdalen Society, to imitate the infinite beneficence and compassion of our dear and blessed Redeemer, manifested to Mary Magdalen. Though I in general despise and deprecate riches, as being fatal to thousands of the human race, yet at this moment I wish from my heart that I was a rich man, that I might by my purse, as well as my pen, lay the foundation of such an excellent and benevolent establishment, where it is not already laid. I wish, but, alas! I wish in vain, that it was in my power to promote such a heavenly undertaking, and to enjoy the divine pleasure resulting to the charitable hearts engaged therein. However, though I have neither silver nor gold, yet such as I have I freely give, in the name of my precious and dearest Redeemer; and he, I am well assured, will accept the will for the deed.

The rich libertine who refuses to contribute his proportion for this laudable purpose, is a mean, pitiful, unprincipled

villain, and "of all bad men the worst." I can with propriety claim, in the name of the wretched beings I wish to snatch from destruction eternal, the contributions of those miscreants who were the cause of their fall from virtue—who deceived them by the promises of marriage, and a thousand nameless and satanic arts. But the principled part of our sex I can only beg, entreat, and beseech, in the name of their own manhood, humanity, and sympathetic commiseration, to provide a reception for the penitent prostitutes who may return to virtue. At present, in most towns, no place is left for refuge, even to those who do repent. They are despised, avoided, and execrated by all, particularly their secret imitators. They look up to heaven, but it is shut against them, and no door on earth is open to receive them, except that of a brothel, as their nearest relatives turn their backs upon them. Many a female delinquent, after being deluded, would turn with abhorrence from the pollution before her, if any door were open to receive her; but this is not the case, and consequently her situation is truly deplorable. She is first betrayed and ruined by our perfidious sex, and then driven to irretrievable misery and perdition by her own sex, many of whom would be as bad as herself if the same temptations were presented to them. Much might be said on this subject if delicacy would allow. However, the benevolent will anticipate more cogent arguments, suggested by their sympathetic hearts and refined sensibility. They are also referred to the "Excellency of the Female Character," in a subsequent part of this work.

The Nature and Design of the HOSPITABLE SOCIETY, or SICK MAN'S FRIEND; instituted for the relief and instruction of the sick poor in particular, and the distressed in general; established in Philadelphia, Anno Domini 1803.

Though many public institutions and private associations for charitable and benevolent purposes have already been established in this city, almost every corner presents numerous instances of human wretchedness and misery, spiritual as well as temporal. Under the impression of this melancholy truth, a few of the friends of suffering humanity, actuated by the principles of Christian philanthropy, have united themselves into a society, each contributing according to his

ability, to relieve the stranger in particular, and in general all such as otherwise have no helper; and not only to relieve the poor, but also to instruct the ignorant, by disseminating religious information, especially among the many profligate persons who reside in the suburbs and environs of the city, who seldom, if ever, hear the gospel where it is statedly preached.

Friends of humanity! here is a noble undertaking, by embarking in which you may have an opportunity of doing good to the utmost extent of your power and will; fulfilling one of the most essential duties of practical religion; visiting, through your delegates, the widow, the fatherless, the stranger, and the friendless, in their various afflictions, without undergoing the inconvenience or danger of such an employment in your own persons.

To encourage this good work, the Saviour himself enjoins, humanity entreats, the divine law requires, and the wretchedness of your poor brethren, children of one common parent, loudly calls you. Acting agreeably to those maxims of universal benevolence which you all profess to hold sacred, you will do honour to human nature in your own persons.

Similar societies have been established in many principal cities of Europe, particularly London and Dublin, the utility and success of which almost exceed belief. In the year 1796 no less than fourteen hundred and seventy-one persons were relieved, many of them, it is hoped, to their everlasting comfort, by the Strangers' Friend Society, established by the people called Methodists, in Dublin. By the Benevolent Society in London, first patronised by the Rev. John Wesley, nineteen hundred and thirty afflicted persons were visited and relieved, in the different parishes in and near London. Out of the above number three hundred and nineteen died, of whom one hundred and ten, we trust, died happy in the Lord. Eighty-nine seemed very penitent. Many who formerly walked not in the ways of religion, now happily walk in them, and are ornaments to their Christian profession. In relieving the above persons the society expended almost seven hundred pounds sterling.

Can the numerous professors of religion and humanity in this city be unwilling to imitate the example of their Euro-

poor brethren in such laudable attempts to relieve the necessities of their suffering brethren of mankind? Shall they not imitate them in the practice as well as the profession of religion? Does Heaven bestow upon them so many good things, temporal and spiritual, and can they indulge themselves in a criminal inattention to one of the most important duties which the religion they profess enjoins? Shall persons actuated merely by motives of humanity visit the fatherless, and the widow, and the friendless, and shall the friends of religion remain unfeeling and inactive? God forbid!

All, therefore, who are friends of religion and humanity indeed, must patronise this work. Under their auspices may it increase and flourish!

"But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" 1 John, chap. iii. 17.

Our society is not intended to interfere with other institutions or duties, stated or occasional. But supposing a case or cases occur in which we have no alternative, but either to forego the benefit we might derive from a social meeting, or neglect an opportunity of doing good to a fellow-creature in extreme wretchedness, temporal or spiritual; we leave it to every well-informed Christian, nay, to every man of public spirit and common candour, to say which of the two duty and interest call upon us to do. We all know that the awful day is speedily to come, in which the Saviour and the Judge of the world will accost us thus:—"Depart from me, ye cursed; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; I was sick, and ye visited me not; I was in prison, and ye came not unto me;" or thus:—"Come, ye blessed of my Father; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me." How solemn the day! how certain and how speedy its approach! how alarming, and at the same time how animating the above passage! how tremendous the sentence, *Depart!* how endearing the invitation, *Come!*

Is it possible that a rational man, professor or profane, can insult reason and common sense so far as to hope that the sovereign Judge will, in the presence of assembled worlds, angels, men, and devils, convened at his tremendous tribunal, declare a palpable falsehood? Can the person who lives in the habitual neglect of the good works enjoined in this striking passage, expect his approbation? It is impossible. What is the object of our society?—to what are all our solicitations ultimately directed? To a literal fulfilment of this interesting passage in the relief of the numerous children of misfortune. Cannot the poor cast in his mite? Can he not, with tears of sympathetic pity, and words of consolation, at least endeavour to chase away the cause of human woe? Without any manner of doubt; and consequently the poor as well as the rich must secure the approbation of Heaven, or force the unwilling sentence, "Depart," &c, from the lips of the dreadful Judge.

Let us then do all the good we can to others, by administering to their wants and necessities, and thereby lay up a treasure in heaven, before our treasure on earth fails. This is to honour God with our substance, and to make friends of the unrighteous mammon; for "he that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord."

The distressed situation of some of the poor, few persons are acquainted with; nor are they likely to be, while the suburbs, alleys, lanes, and even some of the streets in which they are found are sufficient, by their appearance, to deter many from passing through them; and such is the ignorance and wickedness of its inhabitants, that the visitors meet with frequent insults and abuse, though they come with relief to their fellow-creatures in these wretched abodes! None but those who have been accustomed to visit them can any wise conceive the complicated misery, poverty, and affliction with which those within are surrounded, in rooms with shattered furniture, in tenements almost in ruins, and sometimes they are found lying on straw with a few rags to cover them. Oftentimes the visiters have found more than one family living together, if we may so call it, in a cold, damp abode, with no other furniture than two or three uncomfortable beds, which also served them for chairs and tables; the fireplace being common to all, though often

among the whole, they are not able to purchase a little fuel to keep themselves warm; much less could spare any thing towards the relief of others, who perhaps lie on the next bed, almost expiring in extreme want, destitute of help; and though it may be they sometimes thought of God, yet seldom heard his name spoken by those around them, but in cursing and swearing.

Thus situated, let us not shut up our bowels of compassion from them, nor harden our hearts against them, though they may have despised the word of God, hated instruction, been given to idleness, or squandered their small earnings in drunkenness, lived a wicked and debauched life, and by these means brought the present distress upon themselves, yet we must not say they deserve no pity; but rather, like the good Samaritan, have compassion upon them, and pour oil and wine into their wounds; the Son of man himself came to seek and to save that which was lost. "They that are whole," saith he, "have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." And it is certain there is no time more fit to bring the sinner to a sincere repentance or reformation of his past life, than when the Lord has broken his stubborn spirit, and softened his hard heart by severe afflictions. Man's extremity is God's opportunity; this is the time to cast our bread upon the waters—this is the time to sow the good seed; and we have in many instances seen objects who, by the visitation of this benevolent institution, have been restored to health, plucked as brands from the burning, and are now, through mercy, enabled to praise God for those who, by his grace assisting, have been the instruments of their present happiness.

Another class of poor claim our attention as much as those we have just mentioned. Their habitations may not present to our sight that scene of wretchedness, yet is their case truly distressing; we mean those who, by honest industry, support a numerous family by their daily labour, but being overtaken by sickness, means are stopped, trouble and difficulties have multiplied upon them, destitute of needful support themselves, their children crying for that bread they can no longer procure them, and they not knowing how, where, or to whom to apply for relief.

It may be said they should go to the bettering-house, or the alms-house. Some have done so, but as to others, their settlements have been at too great a distance; and if they had been nearer, the weak and low condition to which they have been reduced by sickness, would probably have occasioned their death by a removal; and the small pittance allowed by the overseers of the poor is found barely sufficient to purchase bread for a large family, much less to procure that nourishment a sick person requires. And there are others, who, having neither wife, children, relations, nor friends, being strangers in the town, are frequently seized with the small-pox, or, it may be, a dangerous fever; in this dismal situation, we find but few that are willing to approach them, or administer to their necessities.

These are cases which really do exist, and of which we have been eye-witnesses. Many people who have this world's goods in abundance, and have also benevolent dispositions, would subscribe largely to this labour of love, were they but acquainted with these distressed ones, or could they conceive in a small degree the good which, through Divine assistance, has been done and is daily doing; we should then be enabled to extend our relief to a far greater number of objects, which, through our want of means, we are unable to assist. Some, we are persuaded, would even undertake the laborious task of visiters, were they once to feel that abundant peace and joy which God sheds abroad in the heart, upon finding themselves instruments in his hands of restoring a beloved husband, wife, parent, or child to their afflicted relatives, by the timely assistance unexpectedly brought them.

In this Hospitable Society, the greatest care is taken that the contributions shall not be improperly applied; the visiters are appointed by the president, and are judged to be men every way qualified to visit and instruct those to whom they are sent; they receive no emolument or salary from the society; on the contrary, they not only employ every opportunity they can in visiting the sick, but likewise subscribe as others, according to their ability; and, moreover, they have frequently added to the relief sent, where the cases have been particularly distressing, without charging it to the society.

The accounts are settled every Sunday morning, and the

committee meet to receive recommendations and subscriptions, at which time every one is free to come and examine the books and inspect their accounts; even those who are not subscribers have had admittance, and have been so well satisfied with their conduct, that they have contributed very liberally to its support.

Thus have we endeavoured to lay before the humane and merciful the true plan upon which this society proceeds, both with respect to the instruction and relief of the ignorant and sick poor, and the care that is taken in the appointment of proper persons to distribute that relief in such a manner that the wished-for end may be fully attained.

We cannot act consistently with our belief in God and his attributes, or agreeably to the principles of religion, or even moral rectitude, unless we look upon each one of these objects, not only as our fellow-creature, but as a child also of the same common Parent. Be kind, merciful, and tender-hearted towards them, knowing them to be possessed of the same feelings with ourselves, and created for the same gracious purposes; for we imitate God most by making perpetual advances in mercy, fidelity, truth, and beneficence; for so far as any reasonable creature acts upon a motive or principle of willing or promoting the happiness of others, so far does he, in a strict and proper sense, resemble God; and to do this must be the duty of every person who loves and adores him as the true standard of all that is truly good and perfect.

Rules of the Hospitable Society.

I. There are to be four general meetings of the society annually, one of which is to be considered as the anniversary—time and place to be determined by the visiting committee, of which previous notice is to be publicly given. At each general meeting an apposite discourse is to be delivered, exhibiting the utility and laudableness of this institution. On these occasions collections are to be made, and the most interesting transactions of the preceding year are to be recited, for the information of the subscribers in particular, and the public in general. At each general meeting officers are to be elected.

II. The society is to consist of a committee of visiters or

almoners, and all other subscribers. Out of the visiting committee the president, secretary, and treasurer are to be chosen. If the president, secretary, or treasurer should wish to resign, the president is, by public notice, to call a meeting of the society, for the purpose of receiving their resignations. The secretary is to deliver in all books and papers belonging to the society. The treasurer is to settle his accounts with two members, appointed by the committee. When their resignations are accepted, their places are to be filled by the visiting committee out of their own body by ballot. It is also to be in the power of the committee to fill up any deficiencies in their own body which may be occasioned by death, resignation, or otherwise, and to increase or diminish their own number, as they may see cause; as also to make all rules and regulations for receiving and distributing the funds of the society, or otherwise necessary for the government of it.

III. The president is, ex officio, to preside in all meetings of the society, or, in his absence, a chairman is to be appointed pro tempore, to preserve order, state questions for discussion, declare the decision by vote, and, in case of an equal division of the members, to give the casting vote.

IV. The secretary is to attend all meetings of the society, or, in his absence, the members present are to choose a secretary pro tempore. He is to keep a book, in which the names of the members and benefactors of the society, with the sums subscribed, are to be entered. He is to keep fair records of all transactions of the society, and notify all their general meetings, specifying time and place. He is, in another book, to keep minutes, make reports, and prepare statements of the funds of the society, and the manner in which they have been expended, to be laid before the general meetings.

V. The treasurer is not only to keep a fair and regular account of all moneys belonging to the society, subscriptions, donations, and disbursements, but once every year to settle his accounts with a sub-committee, appointed by the visiting committee for that purpose; his book at all times to be open for the inspection of the members.

VI. The visiting committee is to consist of religious or moral characters, that they may be qualified to instruct the ignorant, comfort the afflicted, and inculcate the necessity of

repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that they may find spiritual benefit and comfort. It is also to be incumbent upon them to seek out and relieve, to the utmost extent of their power, all persons afflicted in mind, body, or estate, of every party and nation, without distinction, who may be in want of assistance, temporal or spiritual. It is also, in a particular manner, to be their duty to attend punctually the work-house, battering-house, and hospital every Sunday, to instruct, exhort, and comfort the numerous sick of every description in their several wards, and then catechise and teach the poor orphan children.

VII. The visiting committee is to meet every Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, when they are to receive their appointments from the president, and depart, in small bodies, to search for or visit their suitable objects of relief.

VIII. Women as well as men are to be admitted as subscribers, and religious women, on particular occasions of relieving females, to form part of the visiting committee; and the transactions of the society are at all times to be open for the investigation of the members.

IX. Members recommending objects of distress are to bring or send their names, places of abode, and other circumstances, in writing, that a visiter or visiters may be appointed and prepared to visit them.

X. Each of the subscribers is to pay two cents per week, being twenty-six cents a quarter, or more, as his circumstances and sense of duty may direct him. These sums are to be deposited in the hands of the treasurer, together with all donations from non-subscribers, collections, &c.

XI. Every member is to be at liberty, after giving previous notice, to withdraw from the society, without assigning any reason.

The committee of visiters consisted of twelve [?] besides the president, of whom five made a quorum for ordinary business. In relieving the needy they were to prefer persons in the greatest distress.

The institution continued for three years, and did much good. Hundreds of the sons and daughters of affliction were every Sunday visited and relieved.

"A new law I leave you," says our dear and blessed Redeemer, "that you love one another." St. John also asserts, that "if we say we love God, and hate our brethren, we are liars;" again, Christ commands us to "be merciful, as our heavenly Father is merciful." But the most beautiful, appropriate, and conclusive passage of scripture which I can select to prove the execration in which the unfeeling devotee is held by the glorious Saviour, is the parable of the cruel servant, Matt. xviii. How many professors of religion would pass by a child of affliction, when going to meeting, without feeling a particle of pity warming their frozen hearts, or a motion of philanthropy moving their inactive hands; yet, if they neglect attending their social or sacramental meetings, they would feel conscious criminality; but alas! no sentiments of regret or condemnation do they even anticipate for the neglect of the duties of humanity. We find, by investigating the actions of most men, that blind self-love is the main-spring of not only all their actions, but even all their virtues.

Pure patriotism inspires the citizen to prefer the public good to his own private interest, from the sole love of his country. In like manner pure philanthropy will stimulate us to promote the good of our neighbour, though it may in some measure be detrimental to self, merely and purely from the force of our affection for him.

How many men can love nothing but what has, either negatively or positively, some reference to themselves. If the amiable virtue under consideration is not admired for its intrinsic excellence, it will not be practiced by man for the benefit of his neighbours. Nor will they do good from the pure love of good. Philanthropy, above all other virtues, is amiable for itself; because, through its influence alone, we are capacitated to fulfil that golden rule, "As you would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them." If we love it only for the good it may do us, we are not philanthropic, but rather politic. As it is unjust to love justice for the sake of reward, so, on the other hand, it is hypocrisy to love benevolence only for the advantages it may procure us.

Selfishness, or self-love, intervenes in our intercourse with God as well as men. Many, very many of what are called

exemplary Christians are too prone to love the Almighty Parent of good only for the finite participation of his benefits, as the Jews followed Christ for the loaves and fishes. It is of the first importance that men make a distinction in the present case. By neglecting this precaution, many, I doubt not, have gone to hell, when they expected they were going direct to heaven; especially those who, to appearance, repented and got converted on a dying bed, or under the gallows. A drowning man, if he cannot grasp a plank, will catch at a straw in his dying moments. We should not only love the Divine character for what he does for us, but for what he is in himself. For instance, we will suppose a great, a good, and powerful earthly monarch in our presence spreads blessings and favours around him; he is the orphan's father, the widow's guardian, and the stranger's friend; he is for ever blessing and for ever blessed; in short, he is a true philanthropist; though I should not, in any sense, participate the plenitude of his liberality, yet surely I could not help admiring his bounty and loving his person, as well as revering his character. But if I were an object of his solicitude, and enjoyed his benedictions, my gratitude and veneration would be changed to the most refined affection. Wherefore, to love the immutable beneficence of Jehovah for its immense totality, is to love him for what we know of him, as well as what we feel of him. And this unsullied love, which I fear few know or care any thing about, dilates, elevates, transports, and gives a kind of immensity to the soul, the magnitude, plenitude, and purity of which, language is not sufficiently copious to depicture. Where pure philanthropy is admitted to influence the actions of men, they perform noble deeds from noble motives; real pleasure accompanies them—glory and immortality is before them; but virtue, or the honour of God and happiness of man, is alone their object: finally, they do good for the sole love of good, and in so doing they aim at resembling God; consequently they please him, while he looks and sees his image stamped upon them, I mean his moral likeness, because in no sense can we resemble God so much as in philanthropy. And as an earthly father would delight to see his own image stamped upon his children, and be disgusted to see them in the likeness of a monster, so in like manner does God delight to see his creatures impressed

with his own philanthropic likeness, and not the malicious, the voracious, the selfish image of the devil.

The reason of one individual's belief differing from that of another, is according to the difference of their education; the prejudice of which is almost invincible. The nations of antiquity, as well as those of modern times, have adopted the most contrary notions respecting religion, diametrically opposite to each other; yet, the inhabitants of each think they are correct, and condemn the others of unbelief. God could not possibly give us intelligence, without giving us liberty: an independent mind and freedom of will, are inseparably connected; destroy the one, and the other ceases; nor can it, in the nature of things, any longer exist. It is equally evident, that God could not, without infringing our liberty, have hindered us by force, from abusing it. He exhibits truth before our intellectual eyes, in so clear and transcendent a manner, that none but the wilfully blind can possibly mistake it. He displays his sovereign beauty and attractive charms, so that none but the ungenerous can help admiring them; he exhibits the infinitude of his Divine philanthropy to the indiscriminate view of saint and sinner, sage and savage, reverend-men and lay-men; so that none but the most ungrateful can help seeing, feeling, and adoring the same.

He has, in the plenitude of his liberality, provided a resplendent palace, in a luxuriant garden majestic and magnificent, for the accommodation of his intelligent creatures; he has extended above us a canopy of the purest azure, spangled with golden stars; he spreads around us curtains of fleecy silver, blended with crimson and variegated with a thousand tints; beneath our feet this terrestrial garden he has sprinkled with violets, damasked with roses, and carpeted with flowers intermingled with the gay verdure of spring! The sun, in the centre of our sacred canopy, darts down his enlivening, exhilarating rays, tips the silver curtains of the sky with a golden gleam, and bids the warblers of each vernal grove swell their various and harmonious notes, while the wood-land monsters roar out their great Creator's praise. He finally makes the glowing buds to blossom, and the blushing fruit to ripen. Thus, our gracious Creator has plentifully and profusely bestowed every blessing that can cheer the heart, and command the gratitude of man. But, alas! the lords of the

creation too often not only degrade themselves below the brutes, but also introduce in the gardens and palaces, with which God has graciously accommodated them, human slaughter, undistinguished carnage, dying groans, instruments of torture, the dire machinery of hell, with which man pursues his brother, thirsting for his speedy destruction, and never gives over the savage chase, till death delivers his helpless innocent victim from the ravages of his insatiate fury, his unrelenting despotism. Hence, cruel man has metamorphosed this sublime palace of God to a slaughter-house; this supreme and superlative garden to an hospital; the abode of sickness, sorrow and death. Thus,

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

Pure benevolence encircles all mankind in one kind embrace; and is not condensed, or circumscribed in the narrow circumference of *self*. Arise! immortal and immutable Architect of Nature! dispel the lowering gloom of intellectual darkness which beclouds the mind, and destroy the malevolence which impregnates the heart of man. Hush to eternal silence the rude alarms of war! and transfuse into our breasts the gentle, the mild, the harmonizing, the Christianizing love of God and man. May the narrow dispositions, the contracted feelings, the bigoted and besotted understandings of all who call upon thy benevolent name, but not in sincerity, may they be swallowed up by a diffusive, extensive, dilating, and in one word, UNIVERSAL PHILANTHROPY.

The benevolent or malevolent writer, not only benefits or injures his fellow-creatures in the present, but also in succeeding generations. The unhappy prostitution of genius is not confined to the giddy and the gay, the florid and volatile; if great gifts are thrown away by such characters, for the attainment of things which should be wholly indifferent to them, it is what we may expect to result from the wrong association of ideas, and an ill-governed consciousness. But when we see men of talents, worth and distinction, become the slaves of pride and vanity, we lament their degeneracy with a mixture of pride and indignation. When we see a man of science courting the plaudits of fools, and virtually

soliciting the commendation of pedagogues, or the adulation of the great, we feel ashamed for such a one.

Genius in him is genius in disgrace.

How many excellent performances literally are ruined, by this undue itching after praise. The author, instead of delivering his sentiments with brevity and simplicity, is oppressed with a foolish regard how to place his words, and arrange his sentiments in the most elegant manner; and while attending to the arrangement of words, he neglects the subject matter of his performance; hence, there is often to be found in the works of men of letters, an elaborate redundancy, without a particle of utility. By this means, they lose the kernel, while attempting to polish and beautify the surface of the shell. Thus, they forego their capacity to accomplish great things, while attending to superficial trifles, by paying too much deference to themselves, and solicitude for commendation. It is certain, that when the primary object of the writer is to gain applause, the benefit of his readers must, of course, be only a secondary consideration; he is, therefore, offering incense at the shrine of vanity, with a witness, and gratifying his own selfish propensities, without disguise. The apostrophe of Christ to the scribes and Pharisees, is particularly applicable to such: "Verily, they have their reward;" and a wretched reward it is.

Not one in a thousand of the pretended admirers of Homer, Virgil, Milton, or Shakspeare, could point out the beauties of these authors; they merely reverberate the opinion of judicious critics which reaches them. After a superficial investigation, they applaud their own taste and discernment, offer a compliment to their vanity, and re-echo the praises of these authors through every grade and circle in society. Hence, the best pieces that have ever been written, have been for numbers of years destined, and sometimes consigned to oblivion. Miserable, therefore, must that author be, who expects or seeks no other reward but in the bounty of public patronage; the boon is uncertain at best, and if administered, is insignificant and sometimes destructive. How many literary calumniators make not only their tongues, but also their pens, the vehicles of scandal! How many authors exert their utmost

ingenuity to commit intellectual murder! How mean, how infamous, how dastardly it is for a man, coolly and deliberately to sit down in order to dissect, analyze, and lacerate the precious character of his fellow-travellers to the grave! How frequently is detraction introduced into all companies, religious and profane; from the highest circles to the lowest, defamation finds entrance.—But there is a peculiar contrast between the scandal of the vociferous and literary calumniator. The clander of the tongue may be suppressed, after it has hovered in the atmosphere of fashion a few days, but it is not so with the scandal propagated by the pen of the vicious writer; it is handed down to posterity with the victim's name, the object of contempt. In order to prove the deformity and injustice of this practice, peculiar to too many authors, I may only ask, how would you like to have your names handed down to posterity, as the subject of animadversion and contempt? Why is it that authors, when in their studies, are ransacking their memories, and laying a contribution on their talents, for what? for the mercenary purpose of offering incense at the shrine of despotism. What a pity it is, that such sycophants do not pay some attention to their compensation, hundreds of years to come, as well as the momentary gratification of their envy, avarice or fame. Surely such a prudent consideration would have the salutary tendency of carrying the mercenary author's thoughts, not only to the profit and praise resulting from his performances, but also to the utility or injury, resulting to mankind from the same source, after he himself is wrapped in the cold embraces of the tomb.

There are many works extant, perfectly correct, as it respects the rules of composition, orthography, punctuation, &c; yet, at the same time, they are as dull, useless, and superficial performances, as ever disgraced the republic of letters; and the reverse, as it respects many inaccurate and unmethodical, yet animated and useful works.

A fine specimen of pure native eloquence, and a true picture of the fate of his whole race, is seen in the pathetic and authentic speech of an Indian.

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the

last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace.

"Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed by, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, had it not been for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children.

"There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it, I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE DEITY,

FROM

"THE RIGHTS OF GOD."

God has granted to man the knowledge of a Supreme Intelligence, in order to win him to his own happiness; but man, from this simple sentiment, has manufactured a thousand religions, as inhuman as the priests by whom they are administered, who are continually teaching any thing but the art of being happy. The earth every where produces abundance for man, while thoughtless, thankless man, every where waters that same earth with the tears and blood of man, unhappy man! It is not nature, but man that is to be impeached with the miseries and ills of life.

The powerful and affluent think that all are miserable who live out of the circumference of fashionable life; but they themselves are the most miserable, because they counteract the laws of nature, and live in opposition, and not in subordination to her dictates; such persons have no relish but for vain delights, no sight but for shadows, no pleasure but in sensuality; while they have no relish for God, they are total strangers to true pleasure, and their whole life is a miserable dream. They are in the midst of the superb works of God, and yet admire only their own grandeur. They are continually fed (like the swine feeding upon acorns, who never know nor care from whence they fall) by the liberal hand of the Creator, and yet they infringe his rights, and counteract his excellent laws. Surely the oppressor thus acts; and the just re-action of Providence repays him in his own coin. With the same measure he metes, it is measured unto him

again. The more men are oppressed, the more feeble and wretched are their oppressors; for they produce misery, and misery produces murders, robberies, prostitution, rebellion and civil wars, which end in their ruin.

This re-action of evil is observable in the governments of modern, as well as of ancient times. We see even in the present day, governments judicially infatuated, which with long and steady strides, approach the brink of political annihilation. They do not remember, that the cause must be removed before the effects will cease. The world is filled with wretchedness and misery, which are the offspring of man's cruelty and oppression, and not the produce of nature. Man, who is weak, man, who stands on the brink of the grave, man, who is poor, who is nothing, has the temerity to impeach God with the fruits and effects of his own folly; to show the inconsistency of which, I will transcribe a few applicable lines from my tragical poem, "Avenia."

"Behold yon Christian hypocrites unjust,
Full of rage, rapine, cruelty and lust;
T' enslave my sons, they propagate their sway,
Join fraud to force, and bear the spoil away.
Who, smooth of tongue, in purpose insincere,
Hide fraud in smiles, while death is harbour'd there;
From tender husbands, weeping brides they tear,
They proffer peace, yet wage unnat'ral war:
Whilst still they hope we'll wink at their deceit,
And call their villanies the crimes of fate.
Unjust mankind, whose will's created free,
Charge all their guilt on absolute decree:
To God they pray to him their sins translate,
Their follies are miscall'd the crimes of fate.
The Christian rulers in their ruin join,
And truth is scorn'd by all the perjured line!
Their crimes transcend all crimes since Noah's flood,
Their guilty glories soon shall set in blood.
They swear by heav'n, then spill their brother's gore;
Lo, view my creatures bleeding on the shore:
Shall heav'n be false, because revenge is slow!
No, 'tis prepared to strike the fiercer blow:
Sure is our justice. They shall feel their wo!

The day shall come, that great avenging day,
When all their honours in the dust shall lay:
Ourself shall pour dire judgments on their land,
Thus have we said, and what we say shall stand.
Their cruelty for justice daily cries,
And draws reluctant vengeance from the skies;
Such hypocritic foes their toils shall know,
And ev'ry hand shall work its share of wo.
How av'rice fires their minds: ye heav'n born train,
Behold our sacred gospel preach'd in vain:
Behold us disobey'd; what dire alarms
Inflame their souls to slaughter, blood, and arms,
Their dreadful end will wing its fatal way,
Nor need their rage anticipate the day.
Let him who tempts me dread the dire abode,
And know th' Almighty is a jealous God.
Still they may charge on us their own offence,
And call their woes the crimes of Providence;
But they themselves their miseries create,
They perish by their folly, not their fate."

In this world, virtue in some degree carries her reward in her bosom: contempt of covetousness ensures repose, temperance secures health, benevolence produces the most exquisite of all earthly delights, infinitely superior to the libertine's or the epicure's most sanguinary gratification. The first delight is divine, the last beastly and sensual; humility begets assurance of safety, and removes fear, for the man cannot fall far, who is on a plain. The few, by fraud, rob the many of their portion of the earth's blessings, till they are cloyed with super-abundance, and of course cannot enjoy what they possess; while the poor suffer and die, for want of the necessaries of life.

"Happy, thrice happy, would it have been for India, if it had never been visited by the commercial tyrants of Europe." To relate the many instances of rapine, desolation, and injustice, which a lust of gain has induced them to commit, would require many volumes. Let the following extract suffice. "Lord Cornwallis, in a letter dated 18th September, 1789, had the following remarkable words: 'I can safely affirm, that one third of the company's territory in Indostan

is now a jungle inhabited by wild beasts:' and Colonel Dow, a Scotch officer, who had been long in India, and who wrote the history of Indostan, thus describes the effect of their barbarity in that unhappy country. 'The civil wars, to which our violent desire of creating nabobs gave rise, were attended with tragical events. Bengal was depopulated by every species of public distress. In the space of six years, half the great cities of this opulent kingdom were rendered desolate; the most fertile fields in the world laid waste; and *five millions* of harmless and industrious people were either killed or destroyed. Want of foresight became more fatal than innate barbarism; and men found themselves wading through blood and ruin, when their only object was spoil.' This is the way some Christians preach the gospel to the Heathen!"

The laws of nature are inverted by those of man. God supplies our wants in a thousand different ways, while man uses as many ways to destroy our comforts; God commands even the forests to produce spontaneous fruits, for his creatures' inheritance; the earth nourishing roots for their aliment, that we may learn from his kindness to us all, to be kind to one another. Alas! no part of the brute creation is so cruel as man! always either the victim or the tyrant of his fellow worms; yet he alone, of all the creation, knows that God is great in goodness, and good in greatness, and that his justice governs the world; and that beneficence is the happiness of virtue, and that virtue exalts man to heaven. We see men every where paying the homage due only to God, to their kings and priests; and as a just re-action, we see always those kings and priests, both oppressing them, as a punishment for their idolatry.

I have one desire, and that is to please God, by endeavouring to alleviate the miseries of his creatures. The censure of king-ridden and priest-ridden people, I calculate upon: they are their own greatest enemies; how then can I expect them to be my friends? My happiness or unhappiness does not consist in the praise or dispraise of dying man, but in the approbation of the living God, who has spread a table for me, in the presence of mine enemies. His presence makes my sequestered enclosure a paradise; in my beautiful flower garden, methinks I could see a particle of the sovereign beauty, in miniature. The expanding rose and tulip, wherein

thousands of ephemeral beings participate the liberality of their Maker, teaches me a more profitable lesson, than all the Greek and Latin schoolmasters in the universe; namely, that God supplies the wants of the most diminutive insects, and embraces the concerns of my circumscribed garden, as well as the boundless garden of nature. If, then, his beneficence extends to the smallest insect in my garden, can I for a moment think he will forget me?

The chief evils of society, I am persuaded, arise from the wrong association of ideas among the rich, who are imitated by the poor; the rich are continually seeking novelties to procure them pleasure, and in so doing, render themselves miserable; and the poor are often equally miserable, for the want of those novelties, because they suppose, very improperly, that they in reality are productive of pleasure. Were it not for this, what pleased the poor man yesterday, would likewise please him to-day; what was sufficient for his simple maintenance, would always appear good and desirable. Did the poor know the painful disquietude of the rich, they would no doubt be contented, and of course happy. In what are called colleges, and other seminaries of learning, the foundation of the misery of thousands is laid; the sentiments inculcated in such places, often in opposition, and not in subordination to the gospel, are as ambition is to humility.

Ah! paradise is even on earth, for the delight of such wealthy men, to whom God has given the power of doing much good, if they would but improve the blessed opportunity, as they will most assuredly wish they had done when they find sickness seize, medicine fail, and the icy arms of death encircling them. I must confess, that the parsimonious and tyrannical conduct of some distinguished professors of religion, has been a stumbling block to me. I associated with them, with a view of putting myself under the protection of virtue, because I found the word *religion* continually in their mouths; but because I would not be a dependant partisan, I was calumniated: however, their oppression and calumny has cured me of my bigotry, and sectarian predilections; their disorders, of which I have been the victim, have inspired me with the love of order; and their defects have taught me to take my eyes from man, and look only to God for relief, for rest, for refuge. But I forgive them from my

heart, because I also have had much forgiven; and only lament, that the arbitrary few, in either church or state, should have the power to oppress and persecute the comparatively innocent many.

We too often find, in the works of classical and clerical authors, nothing but wrong premises, wrong conclusions, and wrong association of ideas, with a super-abundant transcription of Latin and Greek quotations, which not one in a thousand can understand, and only taunt the reader's ignorance, and expose the author's vanity, and to men of sense will only pass for what they are worth. "Let us look through nature up to nature's God," for unadulterated truth; and take our eyes and hearts from the selfish world, where truth is discarded, and interest is the order of the day, both among politicians and ecclesiastics; where almost every sect endeavours to appropriate the promises and presence of God to their individual churches, to the exclusion of the rest of mankind. Little do they think, that the temple of Jehovah is the universe; his lamp, the sun; his organ, the melodious voices of his saints, who love him; his altar, the most humble heart. Unless the truth shall make us free, we never "shall be free indeed." We were placed upon this earth to know, to love, and to obey the truth, to be grateful to God, and affectionate to man; for it is a fundamental law of nature, (hear it, ye cruel, unfeeling rich men, and tremble at your approaching doom!) that the cruelty of man to his fellow-man, shall recoil upon himself, that no individual villain, or government of them, shall ever find their happiness in the misery of others. This one simple truth undermines the false hopes of millions of the great, the rich, the mighty and honourable of mankind. This sentiment will be grating to the feelings of many, who will no doubt hate me, because I tell them the truth. I am most earnestly desirous to do good to mankind; I must, therefore, calculate upon calumny and abuse from them; but abuse or applause are synonymous terms with me, as I endeavour to write so as to merit the approbation, not of man, but of my conscience and of God.

I have learned by my own miseries, always to pity and relieve the miserable, and to look forward to death as a pleasing sleep, which will end them all. I sought truth with singleness of heart, and I did not seek it in vain; and I have

learned, that in order to preserve it pure, it must be deposited in a pure heart; for when the eye is [illegible] light within us is turned to darkness. Every good man [illegible] is an unerring guide and a faithful monitor in his heart, while it is single and full of gratitude; he feels and finds Deity in his soul, both in power, intelligence and goodness.

It was an easy thing for an artful, designing villain, in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was attending their flocks and cultivating their lands, to usurp authority over his neighbours, and to influence them by his false eloquence to relinquish their peaceable and profitable employments, and become a banditti to overcome a country, lay it under contribution, and enslave the defenceless and innocent inhabitants. It was also an easy thing for this artful villain, when his power was established by multiplied conquests, or rather robberies, to entitle himself the chief or king of his band, and consequently of his country. Thus, most assuredly, robbery was the foundation on which monarchy was originally built.

"Proud Nimrod first the bloody chase began,
A mighty hunter, and his prey was man."

What in the first instance was considered the most cruel murder and robbery, in the following years was called conquest, and the spoil a just acquisition; hence the people who viewed the robber Nimrod, on the commencement of his career, with horror and detestation, in the following years viewed the same Nimrod metamorphosed to a monarch, not only with cringing servility, but with sycophantic adulation, (I had almost said adoration,) such is the servile, abject, hypocritical nature of man. But we need not go to the early ages of the world to ascertain the origin of monarchy and aristocracy. The case of Bonaparte presents itself, to prove to a demonstration the villany of monarchy and the servility of man. Likewise Christophe, the negro emperor of St. Domingo, and (antipodes of Toussaint Louverture,) who has recently been metamorphosed from an obscure subaltern to a sable monarch. In order to account for the many bloody and brutal wars which have been the curse and disgrace of humanity from time immemorial, we have only to consider how natural it was for these bands of robbers, who parcelled

eat the earth among themselves, and called it their individual property, to quarrel with each other about their claims. Hence the chief robber or king commanded his creatures to go and murder and be murdered by those they never saw, and from whom they never received the least injury;—when their opponents view their hostile approach, they also "cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war." Hence the earth has so often been fattened with whole hecatombs of human beings, to gratify the pride, the ambition, the vanity of a few miscreants.

Although my mind is impressed with far more interesting matter than that which is merely political, I cannot, nevertheless, forego suggesting a few thoughts on that subject, which may be instructive, although I have not the most distant expectation of their being productive of general utility. Were kings and aristocrats to rob their fellow-mortals of their property, and spare their lives and liberty, the innovation would not be so great; but, alas! this is not the case. As a punishment to the people for their servility and abject adoration of their cruel kings, and a just reaction of Providence for their usurpation and tyranny, we always find kings torturing kings, armies murdering armies, and robbers robbing robbers—the conqueror considering the conquered his property. Pugilists always require only an acknowledgment of being vanquished, on the part of the conquered, to restore harmony; but not so with kings. After they have murdered their thousands they enslave their tens of thousands, and doom their noble as well as ignoble prisoners to torture or to death. Oh the perfection of villany! the scenes of horror, the mountains of human carnage this wretched world groans under, which angels blush to behold!

There are many servile and sycophantic wretches, even in America, who plead the cause of kings and arbitrary power, and apologize for their brutality, and even have the impudence to bring forward the scriptures of truth to consolidate their assertions. But this is only one instance in millions where man has become vain in his imagination, and has called sweet bitter, and bitter sweet; put right for wrong, and wrong for right; truth for error, and error for truth. Such men in kingdoms I pity, although I despise their principles; because the prejudice of education is so great, that it

is next to impossible to erase it from their minds, even by the worst of tyranny. But in republics, such men deserve to be cashiered; because they have not the excuse of ignorance to plead in their favour. Many religionists profess to be the friends of peace, and yet support with all their power governments, or rather monarchs, who for a feather do plunge their fellow-worms into all the horrors of war. Surely this inconsistency exhibits a baseness of heart and hypocrisy of pretension which reason would shudder at and religion disown. So effectually has the tyranny and antiquity of custom domineered over the minds of even what are called religious men, that it seems almost impossible to reform their political condition. Most men are afraid to think of, much less vindicate their natural rights; hence we may fairly conclude that most men in despotic governments do not think for themselves, and are, therefore, under the influence of the prejudice of education, and not opinion; and we cannot wonder at it, when we remember that the object of tyrannical governments—in order to stretch taxation to excess, and circumvent the mouth of labour—is to plunge nations into all the horrors of war, shackle the press, exhibit a great show of grandeur and pomp, encourage such songs and toasts as are likely to enslave the mind and suffocate reflection. From the government of Nimrod to that of Bonaparte or of Lamar, war, or rather robbery, has been their trade, plunder their object, and personal aggrandizement their pursuit. Hence the peace and tranquillity of millions of servile wretches have, from time immemorial, depended on the whim, the caprice, the pride, even the nod of one arbitrary man. Let any person view the history of ancient times, and say if it is not a continued scene of war and bloodshed, murder and devastation, human butchery and wickedness: surely, then, he must be either a rogue or a fool who will think or say that monarchy was ordained by Heaven; and, whoever he is, the Bible gives him the lie in form. Although some people will presume to assert from Scripture that monarchy was established by God himself, yet I can prove, by a few scriptural quotations, that their requiring a king was one of the most fatal sins the Jews ever committed, and was considered an infringement on the rights of God: Samuel, chap. xii. The curse of monarchy is cogently delineated in the resolute re-

monstrance of the prophet Samuel, and for a literal fulfilment of his prophecy we have only to take the most superficial glance at the histories of the Jewish kings. The very best of them, David the just, not only robbed one of his most faithful servants of his beautiful wife, but also, which was tenfold worse, bereaved him of his existence. Solomon the wise doomed 999 beautiful women to perpetual celibacy, whom he called his wives and concubines: we will not include the African, Pharaoh's daughter, his queen, among the number, as he was entitled to one wife by the laws of nature and common sense, and only one. Manasse the penitent caused the streets of Jerusalem to run down with innocent human blood. Ahab the wicked, in conjunction with his wicked wife Jezabel, robbed one of his subjects of his paternal inheritance and his life. Herod the cruel put a great many little children to death, merely to gratify his jealous and barbarous disposition. I could mention many more instances of the villany of the Jewish kings, and of the great injury they were to the Israelites.

When the true philanthropist views with his intellectual eyes the accumulated and complicated miseries of his fellow creatures throughout this wretched world, he sickens at the sight. Through the cruelty of ambitious politicians, and the craft of interested priests, man, who was made little lower than the angels, is reduced far below the level of the brute creation. Bad example, bad education, but, above all, bad government, is the radical cause of the miseries of man. If we for one moment cast our eyes to Europe, Asia, and Africa, we shall view exhibitions of human wretchedness which would make a midnight robber melt into tears.

Although nature is prolific, governments counteract her beneficence, and thus infringe the rights of the God of nature. For it is a lamentable fact, that in the most fertile countries thousands of human beings suffer and die for want, owing to the prohibition and penal sanctions of cruel governments. Fear is of course the predominant passion in despotic countries; pusillanimity supersedes independence, and man relinquishes his native dignity. And yet in the United States there are miscreants who participate the blessings of liberty, and yet calumniate the only free government the ravages of despotism have left in the whole world; and applaud and

even vindicate the cause of the traitors and tyrants of mankind—pardon the tautology, I cannot refrain from repeatedly exposing such base ingratitude and servility. Hence so much ignorance of man's natural rights, ignorance of the most destructive nature, is prevalent in this world. Hence millions of human beings are more senseless and servile than the beasts that perish. Ignorance and cruelty are seated upon superb thrones, while ignorance and misery are sunk into stinking dunghills. A bad government is not only an infringement on the rights of God, but is also the scourge of man, and the curse of the whole earth. Imagination cannot conceive nor language express its fatality. And it is the duty of every honest man, not corrupted by political apostacy, to warn his fellow citizens of the danger and deformity of despotism.

The ground evacuated by the friends of liberty, through lassitude and indifference, is instantly occupied by the votaries of despotism; and thus, by the lassitude of the one party and the assiduity of the other, the bloody flag of despotism too often surmounts the cap of liberty; and when once an aristocratical or monarchical party gets a firm footing in a country, they cannot be conquered but by the most dreadful struggles. The most resolute courage, unshaken patriotism, and unanimity of principle, can only make victory in such a case even possible. It is a thousand times easier to guard the avenues to the temple of liberty, than to expel the assailants when once they have taken possession of it.

In what light must those poor, proud, capricious animals (called kings or rulers) appear in the sight of God, who hire out their subjects to murder and be murdered in the worst of causes, and for the worst of paymasters, perfectly regardless of the innocent blood that may be spilled, or lives lost? yet the middle ranks of people are taught to believe that it is sedition or rebellion against the powers that be ordained of God, to disapprobate the governments of such kings! They wish to hinder people even from thinking, but happily they have not that power; people will think, and they may think of government as well as other things, particularly as their lives and happiness depend upon it. But the insolence of aristocracy is not confined to the affairs of governments—it is also observable in the church, where one would think all

people should appear in a state of equality. I have seen the great man's pew in the church of England, raised far above the others, lined with crimson velvet, and furnished with curtains of silk and satin cushions. At the approach of the wealthy booby may be seen the votaries of aristocracy, who hear the sacred name of God mentioned with indifference, and bow with a cringing servility. Surely wealth, and not the blessed Redeemer, is the object such mortals adore. The reason is obvious: being blinded by the god of this world, they see pleasure only in the enjoyment of wealth; hence many who have not wealth in their own possession to worship, worship the wealth of those who look with contempt upon them—I mean the rich—the affluent. Little do they think that wealth too often is the source of pain instead of pleasure. Most assuredly pleasure was made for man, and man was made for pleasure, and this pleasure is only to be found in the practice of virtue.

How often has an expression of discontent at the usurpations of despotism (perhaps innocently spoken, when the tongue was loosened by wine) been the death-warrant of a man! How often have the cavalry been seen trampling the oppressed multitude under their feet, merely for the unpardonable crime of begging a redress of their grievances! How often have the poor been hung like dogs for stealing a few pence from the rich, while royal villains, right honourable robbers, and right reverend impostors were at the same time circumventing the mouth of labour and robbing the public of millions! Yet they pass on with impunity, solacing themselves in extravagant plenty at the expense of honour, honesty, the tears of the orphan, and the groans of the oppressed. Hence man, who was made in the image of God, in most countries is as ignorant as the ass, and as servile as the spaniel dog; consequently they suffer one of their own species to yoke them like an ox, and drive them like a horse accustomed to the harness, nor dare think, much less speak of liberty.

"But when the toil of each sad day is o'er,
They sink to sleep, and wish to wake no more."

What better than beasts of burden are Hessian mercenaries and Russian soldiers? Have they more rights, or as

many privileges? The general's horse lives magnificently when compared to his subalterns; yet, poor wretches, because they have a coarse coat, the colour of scarlet, and worsted epaulettes, of the shape and colour of silver ones, they think this a sufficient equivalent for both the loss of life and liberty, and will bear kicking and caning with the docility of asses; and will even assassinate the man (or inform of him, which is the same) who in their presence invalidates their cruel oppressors. Hence all that truly ennobles human nature is extinguished in Europe, Asia, and Africa, where degenerate servile man is odious in his own eyes, and contemptible in the eyes of his tyrant. Alas! this earth, originally a paradise, is metamorphosed, by cruel man, to a hell, the repository of despotism and death. How are the titles "lord" and "most sacred majesty," "the most high and mighty prince James," prostituted when applied to such villains, who deserve the gallows a thousand times more than the midnight robber! Yet such fellows despise the virtuous poor, and consider them as "the swinish multitude," and seem to think the world was made for them only. And yet, alas! these same stupid slavish people gape with admiration at the pompous parade, and apologize for the oppressive conduct of their tyrants! One would think that such wretches, who kiss the foot that kicks them, deserve to be slaves; but I say they ought to be pitied rather than reproached, because they are kept in gross ignorance from youth to age, and are amused and deluded by the tinsel of royalty from their infancy. Were the people in any kingdom in Europe to be illuminated as the good people of the United States happily are, the cap of liberty would soon surmount the bloody flag of despotism. They would then be convinced that the cavalcades of aristocracy not only bereave them of their natural rights, but insult their understandings likewise, or, if you please, add insult to injury, by exhibiting their own insignificance at the expense of their own industry. Alas! a false opinion and a deleterious relish for the blaze of equipage, the tinsel of royalty, and military glory, have been the harbinger of death and destruction to millions of the miserable and deluded sons of men.

The vanity and pride of aristocracy, I would silently and sorrowfully pity and despise, did it not produce war, cruelty

and murder, and the chief miseries of the poor. How many, this very moment, are bewailing in the shades of obscurity, the unrelenting ravages of despotism! Hungry orphans, weeping widows, violated virgins, and even the hoary head of unresisting age, are now calling upon death to deliver them from a world of wo, produced, not by nature, but by man! They must worship those they despise, serve those they hate, kill those who never injured them, wretches as miserable as themselves, and at last, prematurely die in the field of battle, forgotten by all, and regretted by none; while aristocratical pride points the finger of scorn at misery produced by itself, and which it could, but would not alleviate.

God, in the plenitude of his goodness, has scattered plenty, (especially in Europe and Asia,) over our globe. The lands which were flowing with milk and honey, are now drenched with the tears of hunger and distress! The fields that waved with golden grain, are now sprinkled with human blood! The plains that were gay with flowers, and bright with verdure, are now the repositories of the bleached and neglected bones of wretched men! You who doubt the correctness of the melancholy picture I exhibit to your view, only cast the eyes of your mind for a moment on Africa, on the West Indies, on South America, on Russia, on Prussia, on Denmark, on Norway, on Spain, finally on England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as the foreign settlements of the Dutch, the Swedes, the French, and the English, all which places I have personally visited, and you will be constrained to acknowledge, that man has unparadised this earth, and reduced it literally to a slaughter-house.

Christ and the simplicity of his mission, both his public and private conduct and discourses, from first to last, as well as his humble appearance in the world, all prove to a mathematical certainty, with what sovereign contempt God views the power, the pageantry, and pride of monarchy and aristocracy. The chief objects of his solicitude, were the poor and miserable; and the primary objects of his animadversions, were the Jewish priesthood, as well as the Jewish aristocracy. I will just quote a few verses from the fourth chapter of Luke, to illustrate my assertions.

"And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias: and when he had opened the book, he found

the place where it was written, The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister and sat down: and the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears, And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill (whereon their city was built) that they might cast him down headlong. But he passing through the midst of them, went his way."

Mark how the spirit of aristocracy opposed with unrelenting violence the blessed Redeemer! and, doubtless, was he again to appear in some courts, and some superb churches, he would again meet with similar treatment. And in order to prove him a fanatic, or an impostor, they would again use the brief argument of, "Have any of the nobility or gentry (or the rulers and Pharisees) believed in him?" And this alone would be sufficient to stagger the faith of the admirers of aristocracy, who would lick the dust which royal villains and right honourable knaves walk upon in order to court their favour; yet these poor servile wretches are, in the eye of aristocracy, no better than beasts of burden; and yet they submit to be trampled under foot, by men as weak and more wicked than themselves; by men who are doomed, like themselves, shortly to become the food of worms, in the silent grave. I will transcribe one passage more of sacred writ, to prove more forcibly in what contempt aristocrats are viewed by heaven, and in what high estimation those whom they despise and trample upon, are held by the Sovereign of the skies; I mean the virtuous poor.

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the

labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have condemned and killed the just; *and* he doth not resist you." *James*, 5: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6.

The gospel was pure and powerful, and its ministers zealous and holy men, till it was introduced into the circles of royalty, by Constantine the Great; and then, and not till then, power and privileges incompatible with the practice and precepts of our adorable Saviour, were usurped by his followers: Then the gospel was reduced to a step-ladder for ambitious politicians, and became the implement of destruction, and the innocent cause of war,* superstition and bigotry; and I am sorry to say, it remains the same in many countries to the present moment. It is matter of amazement as well as lamentation, that mankind should suffer themselves thus to be hood-winked, dragooned, and imposed upon for so many centuries, and that so many lazy and intolerant parsons should be able, with an arm of flesh, thus to degrade human nature, and metamorphose a religion so pure and peaceable, to the demon of war and carnage; and that they could contrive so long to live upon the labours, and trample upon the rights of their fellow creatures. All this has been done, not by forces physical or moral, but by religious fraud. The cunning priests introduced ignorance for knowledge, superstition

* It is painful even to think upon the enormities committed under the cloak of religion; and could we form an estimate of the lives lost in the wars and persecutions of the Christian church alone we should find it nearly equal to the number of souls now existing in Europe. But it is perhaps in mercy to mankind that we are not able to calculate, with any accuracy, even this portion of human calamities. When Constantine ordered that the *hierarchy* should assume the name of Christ, we are not to consider him as forming a new weapon of destruction; he only changed a name which had grown in to disrepute, and would serve the purpose no longer, for one that was gaining an extensive reputation; it being built on a faith that was likely to meet the assent of a considerable portion of mankind. The cold hearted cruelty of that monarch's character, and his embracing the new doctrine with a temper hardened in the slaughter of his relations, were omens unfavourable to the future complexion of the hierarchy; though he had thus coupled it with a name that had hitherto been remarkable for its meekness and humility. This transaction has therefore given colour to a scene of enormities, which may be regarded as nothing more than the genuine offspring of the *alliance of Church and State.*

for religion, and a belief of their own infallibility for the light of reason; and with these fatal auxiliaries, they did with the greatest facility infringe the rights of God. And this origine in all countries, and among almost all denominations, has enabled the reverend few to lord it over the consciences and pick the pockets of the cheated many; often adding insult to injury in the bargain. Let not therefore the inhabitants of Christendom point the finger of scorn at the Asiatics, for worshipping their Grand Lama, their Mahomet, and their Bramahs, and for suffering themselves to be so foolishly cheated out of their liberty, reason, and common sense.

I will here transcribe a passage from the writings of the Rev. David Simpson, a nobleman by nature.

"The people of every age and country have an inalienable right to choose their own ministers; and no king, no ruler, no bishop, no lord, no gentleman, no man, or body of men upon earth, has any just claim whatever, to dictate who shall administer to them in the concerns of their salvation; or to say—You shall think this, believe that, worship here or abstain from worshipping there.

"For much more than a thousand years, the Christian world was a stranger to religious liberty. Toleration was unknown till about a century ago. The clergy have always been unfriendly to religious liberty: when the act of toleration was obtained in king William's time, great numbers of them were much against it:—but both the name and thing are inconsistent with the very nature of the gospel of Christ. For have not I as much right to control you in your religious concerns, as you have to control me? To talk of tolerating implies an authority! He is a tyrant, a very pope, who pretends to any such thing. These matters will be better understood by and by. The whole Christian world lay in darkness upon this subject, for many ages. Dr. Owen was the first who wrote in favour of it, in the year 1648—Milton followed him about the year 1658, in his Treatise of the Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes. And the immortal Locke succeeded with his golden Treatise on Toleration, in 1689. But notwithstanding these, and many other works which have since been written on the same subject, much still remains to be done in this country. Though we have had the honour of being among the first of the nations which obtained a

large portion of civil and religious freedom, others are now taking the lead of us, on the rights of conscience. And it does not appear that we ever can be a thoroughly united and happy people, till every good subject enjoys equal civil privileges, without any regard to religious sects and opinions. If a man be a peaceable, industrious, moral, and religious person, and an obedient subject to the civil government under which he lives, let his religious views of things be what they may, he seems to have a just claim to the enjoyment of every office, privilege, and emolument of that government. And till this is in fact the case, there never can be a settled state of things. There will be an eternal enmity between the governing and the governed; an everlasting struggle for superiority. But when every member of society enjoys equal privileges with his fellow members, the bone of contention is removed, and there is nothing for which they should any longer be at enmity. Equal and impartial liberty, equal privileges and emoluments, are or should be the birth-right of every member of civil society; and it would be the glory of any government to bestow upon its serious and morally-acting citizens, their right without any regard to the sect or party to which they belong. Talents and integrity alone should be the indispensable requisite to recommend any man to the notice of people in power. This would make us an united and happy people."

I will not pretend to deny that any mistakes may have attended the translators of the Bible in their researches: indeed, there are some things mentioned in the Old Testament, which, in my opinion, are mis-translations. And there are other things, perhaps, which savour of the political opinions of the translators. For instance, the men, who with a cringing servility, and fulsome adulation, entitled a poor, proud, petulant worm of the earth, with appellations only applicable to God, surely would flatter royalty with all lowliness, in their translation of the Bible. The men who entitled King James the "most high and mighty prince James," or the most high prince James, or, if you please, the almighty prince James, all of which are synonymous terms, which the translators of the Bible most assuredly did; I say, (or at least, I firmly believe) that such servile mortals would, in order to court the favour and smile of such a prince, make certain parts of

Scripture to savour of absolute monarchy, and preach unconditional submission to the higher powers, on pain of eternal damnation. But leaving every other part of Scripture out of the question, the sermon of our high and mighty, and I would add, glorious and gracious Redeemer, is a sufficient light to direct our wandering feet into the path that leads to everlasting day, and tallies in every punctilio, with the sentiments suggested in the book of creation. Even the famous political writer, Thomas Paine, in his miserable theological work, entitled the "Age of Reason," allows, that the morals inculcated by the gracious Redeemer, (blessed be his most holy name,) exceed any thing of the kind ever written by the pen of man.

The world would have been better, if neither Homer nor Virgil had ever composed a line: the object of the first seems to have been the encouragement of war and blood-shed, and the object of the other, to flatter royalty with a cringing servility, and sycophantic adulation, and for which he was superbly rewarded by the Roman emperor Augustus. Could the Scriptures be read in the languages in which they were written, and by those who were well versed in those languages, their beauty, excellency and impartiality would more fully appear. And as for commentators, they [illegible], instead of elucidating the sacred page, cast a gloom over it, and it is frequently harder to understand their expositions, than the things they attempt to expound. Hence some parts of scripture are involved in such obscurities, that the aid of the Holy Spirit which dictated them, is indispensably necessary. Those therefore, who seek spiritual illumination from commentaries, or the books and sermons of college manufactured clergymen, are often seeking the living among the [illegible].

The spirit of God never leads a man to [illegible] cruel act: but the spirit of the devil has stimulated men, in the name of God and religion to murder millions of men; at the same time asserting, that Scripture commanded, that reason allowed, and tradition stimulated them to extirpate by fire and sword, so many of their fellow worms from the face of the earth? All this was the consequence of their rejecting the spirit of God, and obeying the evil spirit.

Have not the Pagans persecuted the Papists? the Papists the Protestants? the Protestants the Presbyterians? the Pres-

byterians the Baptists? the Baptists the Quakers? and here delicacy commands me to stop. The fact is, in most of the denominations that I know, there are popes, bishops, and tyrannical dictators. We need not look only to Europe, to view a persecuting intolerant spirit; In America it may also be seen in its dictatorial attitude, and with its arbitrary appendages. I could give a tragical picture of the intolerance of a certain denomination, whom one would think, from their origin, would be the last to stand forward in support of this terrible auxiliary of hell, (I mean, ecclesiastical tyranny) which would cause the philanthropist to melt into tears! Indeed, a persecuting spirit, in whatever form it may be assimilated, whatever name it may assume, or whatever excuse it may plead, whether it is in miniature or magnitude is most assuredly a fatal auxiliary of hell; the curse and disgrace of the human race.

It seems that societies are as prone to degenerate as individuals, and from the same cause, prosperity. Men can see their fellow-creatures oppressed, and applaud and justify the oppressor. But if happily they participate the same oppression, they sometimes do get their intellectual eyes opened thereby: and then, and not till then, they will seek refuge in God, and see the absurdity and servility of apologizing for, or vindicating the cause of the oppressor, to the destruction of the oppressed, and the mist of ignorance once dissipated, can never be collected again. Let any impartial man read the Book of Martyrs, and he will see on the one hand, the cruelty of ecclesiastical tyrants, and on the other, the cringing servility of their adherents and flatterers; and that cruel spirit by which they were influenced, I am sorry to say, is far from being extirpated from this land of political liberty. I know many high professors of religion who are devoid of mercy and common humanity; they cannot therefore, be led or influenced by the Spirit of truth. I will allow, a man may be a good man, and nurture that good spirit, and yet, by weakness, unwatchfulness, or infirmity, deviate from the paths of moral rectitude; but if he errs one moment, he will repent with heart-felt sorrow the next, not for fear of hell, but from pure love to God; but to be destitute of mercy, is to be a stranger to the experimental knowledge of the truth altogether. Is not therefore, a humane barbarian more estimable and amia-

ble in the sight of heaven, than a hard hearted and inhuman preacher of the gospel? without doubt.

St. Peter, was inclined to believe, as millions of professing Christians now do, that God was partial to the Jews, in undue preference to all other nations, whom he considered as rejected by him. But God, in order to prove his impartiality as clear as a ray of light, convinced this good man, by a miraculous manifestation, that such sentiments were not agreeable to truth. As the narrative of Cornelius is so much to the point, and such a positive proof of the force of my arguments, I will humbly take the liberty to entreat the reader, to peruse the said narrative at his leisure, in *Acts* x, 1—35.

Nothing can be more plain, than that this good man was led by the spirit of Christ, and participated the merits of his death; although a heathen, and of course, a stranger to the Jewish, as well as Christian theology. And the same might be said of righteous Job, who feared God, and eschewed evil; and was of course, led by the spirit of Christ; for, without that good spirit, he could do no good, negatively or positively.

St. Paul is explicit on this subject. "For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law. For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified. For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing, or else excusing one another." *Romans* ii, 12—15 Many of the heathen philosophers, were sincere admirers of the Sovereign beauty.

I would beg leave, in illustration, to transcribe a few sentiments of three heathen philosophers, relative to the Supreme Being; the first of whom is Cicero.

"The great law imprinted in the hearts of all men, is to love the public good, and the members of the common society as themselves. This love of order is supreme justice, and this justice is amiable for its own sake. To love it only for the advantages it produces us, may be politic, but there is little of goodness in it. 'Tis the highest injustice, to love

justice only for the sake of recompense. In a word, the universal, immutable and eternal law of all intelligent beings is to promote the happiness of one another, like children of the same Father." He next represents God to us a sovereign wisdom, from whose authority it is still more impracticable for intelligent natures to withdraw themselves, than it is for corporeal ones. "According to the opinion of the wisest and greatest men, (says this philosopher) the law is not an invention of human understanding, or the arbitrary constitution of men, but flows from the eternal reason that governs the universe. The rape which Tarquin committed upon Lucretia, was not less criminal in its nature, because there was not at that time any written law at Rome against such sort of violences. The tyrant was guilty of a breach of the eternal law, the obligation whereof did not commence from the time it was written, but from the moment it was made. Now its origin is as ancient as the divine intellect: for the true, the primitive, and the supreme law is nothing else, but the sovereign reason of the great Jove. This law (says he, in another place) is universal, eternal, immutable. It does not vary according to times and places. It is not different now from what it was formerly. The same immortal law is a rule to all nations, because it has no author but the one only God, who brought it forth and promulged it." Such were the reasonings of Cicero when he consulted natural light, and was not carried away by a fondness of showing his wit, in defending the doctrine of the Sceptics.

The next is Seneca, the Stoic. He was Nero's tutor, and lived in an age when Christianity was not in credit enough, to engage the heathens to borrow any philosophical principles from that source. "'Tis of very little consequence, (says he) by what name you call the first nature, and the divine reason that presides over the universe and fills all the parts of it. He is still the same God. He is called Jupiter Stator, not as historians say, because he stopped the Roman armies as they were flying, but because he is the constant support of all beings. They may call him Fate, because he is the first cause on which all others depend. We Stoics sometimes call him Father Bacchus, because he is the universal light that animates nature: Hercules, because his power is invincible; Mercury, because he is the eternal reason, order and

wisdom. You may give him as many names as you please, provided you allow but one sole principle, every where present."

Agreeably to Plato's notions, he considered the divine understanding as comprehending in itself the model of all things, which he styles the immutable and almighty ideas. "Every workman, (says he) hath a model by which he forms his work. It signifies nothing whether this model exists outwardly and before his eyes, or be formed within him by the strength of his own genius: so God produces within himself that perfect model, which is the proportion, the order, and the beauty of all things. The ancients (says he in another place) did not think Jove such a being, as we represent him in the capitol, and in our other buildings. But by Jove they meant the guardian and governor of the universe, the understanding, and the mind, the master and the architect of this great machine. All names belong to him. You are not in the wrong, if you call him Fate; for he is the cause of causes, and every thing depends on him. Would you call him Providence; you fall into no mistake, it is by his wisdom that this world is governed. Would you call him Nature: you would not offend in doing so: it is from him that all beings derive their origin; it is by him that they live and breathe."

There is no reading the works of Epictetus, of Arrian his disciple, and of Marcus Antoninus, without admiration. We find in them rules of morality worthy of Christianity.

Socrates in particular, professed to be guided by an inward monitor, which he called his good Genius, (but which I call the good spirit of God) and though a heathen, was a martyr for the truth: and who dare say, Socrates is in hell? I answer; none but the presumptuous or ungenerous.

I must confess, I am pointed in my animadversions, but they are only applicable to political and clerical impostors; and those who are offended with me for exposing the villany of king-craft and priest-craft, are their advocates, and of course enemies of man, and virtually infringe the rights of God. I do not exhibit any honest man, or set of men, to popular animadversion and contempt; I only exhibit criminals: let not the innocent, therefore, think that I implicate them; I do not, I dare not do it. I believe there are good ministers and good people in every denomination, as well as

bad ones. I need not, I do not expect either affection or favour from lordly and crafty priests, or tyrannical and treacherous kings or rulers, or from their father the devil; and much less from priest-ridden, politician-ridden, or devil-ridden people. They remember to forget what I have so repeatedly and pointedly declared, to wit, "that no true minister of Christ, and no pure patriot, directly or indirectly, has any connection with my animadversions:" indeed, no people on earth do I so much love, admire and venerate as them. But although I admire virtue in church and in state, must I be calumniated because I expose villany?

THE PLEASURES OF CONTEMPLATION.

WHERE is the inhabitant of the air, from the moth to the eagle, or of the sea, from the shrimp to the whale, or of the earth, from the mouse to the mammoth, that ever deviates from the laws of nature? I answer, not one, man only excepted. Yet man is the lord of the creation; in him are united both beauty and intelligence. He only can view the harmonies between each species of plants and of animals, and the utility of minerals and fossils; he can, with his lens, see in a grain of sand a globe in miniature, and with his telescope behold millions of globes in magnitude, on the milky way; he can measure the distances of the planets from each other; and from the sun, the centre of the solar system, he can calculate the exact period that an eclipse will take place, even an age before the time, and not miss a minute in his calculation. He only, of all animals, can command fire, wind, and water to obey him, the wild beasts to fear him, the tame ones to serve him. The vegetable as well as the animal creation is likewise subject to his dominion; he is sensible of these and innumerable other advantages, and yet, of all animals, he is the most ungrateful to the Divine Author of all his mercies; he well knows that it is his duty to be kind to others, as God is kind to him, yet of all monsters he is the most cruel; he sees the harmonies, beauties, and benefits of this terrestrial globe, and enjoys the countless favours and blessings resulting from the variation and contrasts of the seasons, yet scarce ever bows with grateful acknowledgments to the benevolent Being who supports him and the earth on which he crawls, as it were, in the palm of his benevolent hand. Spring crowns him with flowers, summer with yellow sheaves, autumn with purple fruit, and winter

with ventilating storms and healthful snow. The seas and lakes are stored with fish, the valleys with medicinal herbage, the woodlands with spontaneous fruit, wine, oil, and honey, for the aliment of man. I have seen the wine taken from the lofty palm-tree, and drank it; I have eaten the palm oil with rice, as also the wild honey, and various wild fruits have I gathered and participated in, in the forests of Africa, a land flowing with milk and honey, rendered so by the liberality of God, but metamorphosed to a dismal dungeon by the cruelty of man.

When force begins, free agency ends. What truth can be plainer than this? yet who believes it? I will add, if we are not free agents, but animal machines, without liberty or will, we cannot be rewardable for any virtue, or punishable for any vice. But it is necessary not only to see, but to obey the truth. As the good Spirit can and does hold up the light of truth before our intellectual eyes, but cannot see for us, so likewise, even if we do see the truth, we must obey it for ourselves; he cannot do it for us; the thing is impossible. God has made my mouth, but he cannot eat for me; he has graciously formed my corporeal and intellectual eyes and ears, but he can neither hear nor see for me; he has blessed me with reason, but he cannot reason for me; if he did, the reasoning would be his own, not mine. He does exhibit the natural light of Divine truth, before the intellectual eyes of every man that cometh into the world, sage and savage, Pagan and Christian, Turk and Jew, clergyman and layman.

Though many Christians, so called, contend that it is impossible for any but sectarian believers in the Gospel to enter the kingdom of heaven, I have found more hospitality among the savages of Africa, than I have among the greatest professors of religion in Europe or America, and that in the time of my greatest need. I would mention one instance: a certain adventure once put me in their power, and they knew me to be a slavedealer. My only food was the spontaneous fruit of the forests, unless what they supplied, yet they never let me want. They had not sufficient food for themselves, yet they divided it without my solicitation. I have often asked Christians for a drink of water, and they would not give it: whereas *savages* have regaled me with palm wine, without asking it.

Who listened to, and forthwith obeyed the spirit of truth? I mean the third person in the Holy Trinity, whose positive command, to sage and savage, is "Love your neighbour, and learn from my kindness to you all, to be kind to one another;" Toussaint and the good Samaritan, or our modern sectarians. Few have had a better opportunity to answer this interrogation than myself, as I have travelled by land and water hundreds of thousands of miles. To the Africans, I have been a deadly foe, yet they treated me as a friend; to my Christian cotemporaries I have been a most ardent friend, yet they have treated me as a foe. The first have accommodated me in my extremity, even without solicitation, or any compensation, with the best they possessed; and the last have absolutely refused me a drink of cold water, when I was thirsty, though I humbly solicited for it. This I declare is the truth, and I could particularize numerous anecdotes, connected with my experience, to elucidate and consolidate the above fact.

I have been often astonished, in my extensive travels, to find so great a contrast in professors of Christianity, who had the word religion always playing upon their lips, and in Heathens, who did not even understand the etymology of the word. I have often wondered what was the cause, the simple unlettered children of nature imitated the author of nature in his most amiable characteristic, I mean benevolence, more than the sons of science and the daughters of polite literature; and that savages, who never heard one sermon on charity, should be more charitable than those who hear one hundred and four sermons every year.

But what seems to me the greatest misfortune of all, is the improbability of any person, who is a bigotted member of a corps or sect, ever listening to any other reasoning but what is sanctioned and supported by his party; hence, they are only acquainted with one side of the question, and consequently cannot give a candid and reasonable decision on any subject of importance.

In the different corps or societies, philosophical, political, and religious, there are a diversity of opposite opinions, interests and hypotheses; but in no party are opinions so diametrically opposite, advanced and confuted, supported and censured, as on the subject of revealed religion. Millions of books have been written, and sermons preached by each

party, which tended to destroy, instead of supporting, true religion; I mean supreme gratitude to God, and corresponding affection to his creatures, both animal and human. But a contrast in opinion is not confined to religious controversialists. In philosophy, also, we often find a perfect contrast in opinion among its votaries; but happily this diversity of opinion does not produce animosity, hatred, calumny, the rack, the halter, the fire, the faggot, as it has done among religious controversialists, to the disgrace of all moral virtue, true religion, and even common humanity.

I am firm in the opinion that our Sun, with its seven attendants, planets, and satellites, is but a small part of creation; that each of the fixed stars are suns, the centre of systems, as extensive and magnificent as our own. Some think they are not inhabited; I contend, from analogy, that if a diminutive plant is pregnant with animal life, the hypothesis that the different enormous systems of creation are inhabited by beings capable of contemplating the sovereign beauty, and participating the benefits of the celestial architect, is consistent with reason as well as philosophy. Many naturalists ascribe the phenomenon of tides ebbing and flowing to the laws of gravity, that is, to the attraction of the sun and moon on the equator; but may not the phenomena of our tides be affected by the melting of the polar ices? Our primary object, however, is to demonstrate by reasonable, as well as philosophical deductions, that God has made ample provision for the luxuriant accommodation of all his creatures, both animal and human; and if they are unhappy and miserable, it is man that has made them so. I have in my voyage to the bay of Honduras, and while sailing round divers desolate islands near the Spanish Maine, taken notice of the harmony and happiness that appeared to exist between the different species of animals, of birds, and of reptiles. It appeared to me, that being delivered from the ravages of man, they enjoyed uninterrupted happiness. These islands I perceived were plentifully supplied with various trees, and herbage, and spontaneous fruits, for the plentiful support of quadrupeds which made them their local residence, as well as for the itinerant amphibious animals that resorted thither, periodically, for aliment or shelter, or to deposite their eggs: finally, thither flew numerous species of birds at the approach of

storms and tempests, and found a secure asylum; many of them were most beautiful to behold. Perhaps it will be allowed that in warm climates, such as the bay of Honduras, all birds, animals, and insects, are plentifully provided with all necessary aliment; but it may be objected that nature is not equally prolific in the cold northern latitudes, such as Norway and Russia. As I have also, visited these countries, and others in the same latitude, I can easily answer this objection. However, one simple geographical fact will be sufficient to do it, viz: It is well known that no nation carries on a more extensive trade in *peltry* than the northern regions, which chiefly supply the markets of all Europe. The fact is, that in no countries are birds and beasts, of various species, more abundant than in those cold climates; such as wolves, white bears, elks, rein-deer, water fowls, heathcocks, hares, foxes, ermines, beavers, martens, &c, &c; but the fecundity of fishes is here superabundant: I have seen them taken up in buckets and baskets in Norway, they were so plentiful, and in such shoals. There is a greater variety of species, and each species are more numerous here than in any other part of the world. There are more herrings to be caught in these northern rivers and seas, than would supply all the inhabitants of Europe and America; not to speak of the sturgeon, cod, anchovies, mackarel, pike, salmon, sea-dogs, porpoises, sea-cows, whales, and many others too tedious to enumerate. But it will be objected that both birds and quadrupeds suffer for aliment, and perish with the severity of the winter in the northern regions. To this I would answer, that the God of nature is equally careful in accommodating the animals of the northern regions with furs and long thick hair, which regularly grow in winter and fall off in the summer: as he is in providing the animals of the southern hemisphere with thin hair, light and cool; witness the African lion, whose skin I have seen as sleek as a mole; while the wolf of Siberia is shaggy all over, even up to his eyes. But the gracious Creator, blessed be his holy name, is not only careful to cover their backs with fur, but he builds a house over their heads: witness the lofty and ever-green firs, whose spreading branches ward off the snow storm from the defenceless quadrupeds, and also preserves the moss in some places two feet thick for the aliment of the rein-deer, who, when the snow

covers it, are all stimulated by instinct to paw the snow away and find a plentiful aliment, provided by their benevolent Creator, through the severity of winter. In many places nature has also provided abundance, not only of the soft and dry leaves of trees and moss, but a variety of spontaneous fruits, which, being arrived at maturity, fall at the approach of winter; thus the kind King of heaven provides abundantly a house, apparel, and luxuriant aliment for animals and insects in the northern as well as the southern latitudes.

In warm latitudes nature provides volcanoes, thunder, tempests, and storms to ventilate the air, and to hinder the waters of lakes, rivers, and creeks, from becoming stagnated and putrid; and when man has not acted in opposition to nature, these are the most wholesome regions of the earth.

The first thing that children learn when they go to school is, too often, cruelty. The pedagogue acts the tyrant—the children imitate him; and when the school is dismissed, we too often see the older children beating the younger ones, or stimulating them to fight each other; and if drunken or delirious persons happen to pass when they come out of school, you will assuredly see the scholars running after them, and pelting them with stones or mud. Such sights are not to be seen among savages. If you wish to make a child a hypocrite, you must first make him miserable; if you wish to make him cruel, or stupid, flagellation will do the business.

In all our schools, ambition is inculcated upon the juvenile mind, while humility is exploded; and this error, I call the foundation stone of the miseries of christendom. Hence, in all the ranks of civilized society, every one, is seeking to circumvent his neighbour, in order to accumulate riches, and thus gratify this spirit of ambition, and if one arose from the dead, he could not convince him of the folly, fatality, and futility of this passion, the natural offspring of a faulty and vain-glorious education.

To the writings of Dr. Benjamin Rush, on Education, I refer the philanthropist. Philadelphia and her medical faculty might well be proud of one of the greatest and best of men, and when he died, I believe he left not his equal behind, at least not his superior in America. As a philosopher, philanthropist and physician, he is a worthy rival of Dr. Erasmus Darwin.

When I intellectually view Christian, as well as Pagan countries, and see one part of the human family exalted to demigods, and demagogues, and the other part degraded to beggars and beasts of burden, the one part living in all manner of extravagant sensuality, and the other part absolutely dying for want of what the first waste, I naturally ask myself, "why is this dreadful disorder permitted to derange and distress mankind? But I find an answer ready, namely, THEY ARE FREE AGENTS!!"

Among the species of birds, there is no Nero; among the race of tigers there is no Caligula permitted to arise, and systematically tyrannise over the brute creation: and wherefore? Because they are unlike man, who is a free agent. These voracious animals with all others of the carniverous kind, do not tyrannise, they instantaneously slay and eat their victims, of course, end a day of happiness with a moment's pain. The utility of carnivorous animals will at once appear obvious, even to those philosophical unbelievers who wish to find fault with the infinitely wise economy of a gracious providence. Were it not for them, the earth would be covered, the air would be tainted, and the waters would be contaminated with putrid carcasses of beasts, of birds, of fish. But the question recurs: why was a Nero, a Caligula permitted to oppress and torment their species? the answer is still at hand: They were produced by moral corruption in the people: for it is a fundamental truth, (though I well know that not one in a million will believe it such) that when an individual, a family, or a nation turn their backs on what Socrates used to call his good genius, upon their infallible dictator, conscience, upon the obvious laws of nature, the dictates of reason, and the simple suggestions of common sense, they are ready to become the votaries of every absurdity in religion and politics, in theory and practice: and the vassals of every hypocritical priest and tyrannical potentate; and if such servile mortals find nothing but misery when they thus turn their backs upon so kind a benefactor, is it not a just re-action for their base ingratitude to their best friend, and servility, or, if you please, loyalty to their worst foe. Let any man, who doubts the authenticity of this assertion, read the histories of the Asiatic sultans, grand moguls, nabobs, grand lama, Brahmins, priests of Juggernaut, &c, and then he will doubt no

more. Nero and Caligula were detestable tyrants, and thousands besides I might mention, and not leave Solomon out of the number. Who made them men? I answer, God. Who made them tyrants? I answer men; servile, sycophantic, bigoted men. The Israelitish priesthood preached for pay, and divined for money. They also preached unconditional submission to their kings, which secured their sovereign and tyrannical authority; and who was to blame? no doubt the people themselves: "my people love to have it so," says God by the mouth of his faithful prophet Jeremiah. When the Romans were virtuous, they were free, for God was their defender, and no tyrant dared to infringe their rights: but alas! when they became vicious, they also became an easy prey to every enterprising adventurer. God will help them that help themselves, and this assertion is elucidated in the fable of the wagoner and Jupiter. A bad population, like a bad tree, produces bad fruit. Were it not for a host of parasites, pensioners, prostitutes, spies, informers, flatterers, and the hangman at their head, Nero would have never reigned; and were it not for a host of such tories and traitors, with pride and ambition at their head, France would be now in Europe what the United States would be in America, were it not for African Slavery. "*A lesson to the oppressor, and a pattern to the oppressed.*" Cursed ambition! the bane of virgins and the bait of fools, has destroyed that beautiful country, which nature has made a paradise, and man has metamorphosed to a dungeon of despotism and desolation. When I recollect the commencement, the progress and the catastrophe of the French revolution, and the desperate consequences of its failure on the liberty, peace and happiness of the European population, my very heart almost weeps blood.

God gave the people of France a fair opportunity to assert their natural rights, and support their political independence. Yes, I will contend, that he graciously gave them a better chance than any other nation ever were blessed with: I will not except the enlightened and independent people of America. This God can do without acting incompatibly with his equitable attributes; but if he could lift them out of the sink of political prostitution, and religious fanaticism, and set them on their feet, and enable the nation to stand like a man, and no longer crouch and cringe like a beast, he certainly could

not walk for them, nor be grateful for them; nor be a terror to the royal tyrant, and an asylum to the degraded slave for them, God did his part, but they refused to do their part.

My reason for dwelling so much upon our corrupt, though popular mode of education, is this; I consider it the source from whence proceeds all our miseries, individual, domestic, and national; which, if fully described, a thousand volumes would not contain the dreadful delineation. It is a certain fact, that children may be taught by early education, any error or any truth, or indeed any religion, manners and habits; even though contrary to the laws of nature.

How necessary then is it to correct the present abominable mode of education, and to substitute a better in its room! Is it not a sin that cries to heaven for vengeance, against those who see the evil, and have it in their power to remedy it, and yet do not use that power to remedy evils so fatal, so dreadful, so profound? The royal oak, when a twig, may receive any bend, and the brick, when clay, may receive any form; so is it with educating our youth. The first lesson taught by parents and preceptor, by example, is cruelty. Mr. Jefferson says, "children are imitative animals." The master at school, and the parent at home, with whip in hand, both act the tyrant. The children must therefore learn by the sense of feeling, as well as seeing. The second lesson is ambition: this is inculcated by threats, by promises, by classical advancement, and by the hope of a silver medal.

When civil and christian education, so called, is such, is it not abominable injustice to hang one man and imprison another, who only act according to the principles dictated by this mode of society? If the present system of education is the parent of crime, is it not the indispensable duty of those who have it in their power, to correct this deleterious mode, and without delay? The man who has been frustrated in his ambitious arrangements to make his fortune by legal swindling, such as fraudful speculation, shaving notes, enormous usury, the banking system pushed to an extreme, &c, &c.; so powerful are first impressions, and the prejudice of education, that he uses *unlawful* means to accomplish this object, by forgery, by robbery, by murder, &c. This is the cause of the premature and violent deaths of many thousands in christendom, every year. I do contend, that there can be

no real happiness, but what tends to do, either directly or indirectly, to promote the happiness of mankind. If this is a fundamental truth, our present and most perfect mode of civilized and christianized society, is corrupt, totally corrupt, to its very source. Hence we see all ranks and grades in civil society, in full pursuit after riches which will enable them to attain the highest pinnacle of grandeur. Of course, we see in church, and state, all people and parties are endeavouring to outvie each other in outward decorations and equipages, to the total neglect of the inward ornament of a philanthropic and patriotic heart. Yet every body knows, because daily experience demonstrates the melancholy fact, that wealth without charity, is misery most profound. Man was ordained by nature, to progress from imbecility and ignorance, to intelligence and social intercourse: but what is the fact, as is relates to civil society? It is this; that man, so far from considering that his individual happiness consists in promoting the happiness of his fellow-creatures, of all kinds, kindreds and colors; he necessarily considers, because he has been always taught so, that his happiness consists not in virtue, nor in promoting the happiness of others; but rather in accumulating a fortune, building a palace, and outshining all others in elegance and splendor! I am truly sorry I connot find language to depicture in proper colors, the mountains of mischief and misery produced, particularly in civil society, by this fatal deviation from the plain laws of nature, and the simple dictates of common sense. The order of nature is subverted, and a curse attends the subversion! Witness the palaces and prisons in christian cities; the abodes of extravagant sensuality, and of want and misery: one part cloyed with super-abundance, and the other part literally perishing with hunger! The few are seeking their happiness in vain show, in pomp and pride, the foolish titles of royalty, and the useless tinsel of superstition; and in so doing, rob the many of the necessaries of life, and doom them to degradation, starvation, and desperation: and then, forsooth, execute them by thousands, for doing what society collectively first teaches, and then individually compels them to do. Religion, matrimony, politics, genius, the arts and sciences, are all prostituted to gain riches. And if one intelligent child of nature will refuse to go down with the general torrent of moral corrup-

tion, infamy, disgrace, and poverty, must be his portion. Was he worth thousands this year, the next he would be a beggar.

Indeed many of our boasted laws are so absurd in their nature, and so great an insult to common sense in their tendency, that the most ignorant of our own population cannot help seeing their injustice, their mighty prejudice to the contrary notwithstanding. How cruel, how absurd, how wicked, to punish the crimes in manhood which we ourselves inculcated in infancy. What a dreadful outrage on common honesty, that the tender philanthropist, who, by his conduct, adorned human nature, should, for his virtue, be doomed himself to beggary, and his poor children cast as lambs among wild beasts—carted to the poorhouse—there corrupted, and soon after hung for stealing the value of a few shillings, which starvation perhaps compelled them to. While, on the other hand, the fraudulent speculator, who, from sordid avarice, and not from want, robbed his neighbours of millions, is first made a magistrate, (for what won't money make,) then an alderman, and lastly, a chief justice, senator, or what not, who rides in his superb coach and four horses, whilst his philanthropic neighbour, we have just mentioned, is reduced to beg (propped on his staff and shaking as he goes) a morsel of bread, with a lame leg, a hungry belly, and a breaking heart; and his poor children, O! dreadful thought! are sentenced to an ignominious death, by this very judge, who gained his wealth and weight, in a most corrupt society, by vice; while the intelligent philanthropist is brought to starvation for attending to the opposite virtue, and, of course, violating the wicked laws of Christianized man. Those who laugh at this true, though tragical delineation, I would to heaven they could be compelled to visit our prisons, our poorhouses, and brothels, in America as well as Europe, and examine individually, their wretched inmates, relative to their misfortunes, their vices, and their connexions; their true and tragic tales would unfold more of the corruptions of our civil society than it would be prudent for me to delineate, however true I could prove my delineation to be. The fact is, I could say and prove a great deal in support of my glimpse of popular depravity, which would implicate many respectable bodies, political and ecclesiastical; but by thus saying what might

be said with the strictest truth, I would subvert my own primary object, namely, benefiting my fellow-creatures with the pure motive of pleasing my Creator alone. I can speak with more confidence on this subject than many others, from this consideration, that I have travelled much, as I have already mentioned; and also, when I was a sectarian preacher, I regularly preached in prisons and poorhouses, and, in so doing, heard tales of wo, that would make the heart of a midnight assassin, though made of stone, almost weep tears of blood.

Look at the superb streets of palaces, in one part of our cities, where thousands die of indolence and luxury, and then turn your eyes to another part of them, and you will see millions in stinking lanes, and alleys, perishing for want: I saw myself, a poor widow and her daughter, one cold winter's morning, in a corner of a miserable room, laying upon the floor; their bed and covering was a piece of an old carpet, which was sprinkled over with snow, as well as the whole room, as there was not a pane of glass in the windows, nor fuel, nor furniture, nor food in this wretched habitation, though it was within a pistol-shot of the pompous and luxuriant abodes of the sons and daughters of extravagant sensuality.

Among the savages, with whom I have been, their children were always raised without stripes, and almost without a frown; their wants, being natural, were few; their education was simple, namely, humility and obedience. I recollect, when I was 17 years of age, I happened to be among savages not totally corrupted by the sons of civilization: they were in a large circular pavillion, the roof of which was the spreading branches of palm trees, which were planted in an exact circle, and very close to each other, which formed at once a simple, romantic, and cooling retreat. Here the chiefs were assembled, with their usual hospitality, to regale us with palm wine; there was but one white man who sat and drank with the chiefs: but for my part, I had to kneel down at their feet, as their own children did: thus I partook of their pleasant beverage. I mention this to show how children may be taught humility without cruel chastisements. The parents are affectionate, their children are filial. They are taught, by times, to plant some simple roots, to gather the spontaneous fruits with which the woodlands abound; as also to hunt,

fish, &c. These simple occupations supply their few and simple wants; and the children as naturally and regularly provide for their parents, in their old age, as they did before for them in their infancy. The want of filial or fraternal love or hospitality, so common among civil and polished society, is never to be seen among them. I will not except even the barbarians who devour human flesh; even this, the lowest and most degraded of savage society, is less pregnant with misery and mischief than some of our most highly extolled civil societies. For instance, whether is it most cruel to behold helpless old age and infancy, absolutely and literally enduring the lingering and tormenting pains of death, by starvation, for no offence? or men and women roasting in the slow fires of the inquisition for not believing a lie? or the patriot ... during the tortures of the rack, for opposing the cruel government of his most Christian majesty? or the philanthropist enduring the lingering pains of death in a dungeon, for advocating injured innocence, and vindicating the rights of man, by his pen? or the sanguine, but, alas, imprudent champion of civil liberty, who is burned alive on a gibbet, for the unpardonable crime of what his Christian tyrant calls high treason?

These are only a small specimen of the blessings of Christian society, and the tender mercies of Christian potentates. Now which, I would ask, is most cruel, the conduct of the most barbarous part of savage society, I mean cannibals, who kill instantaneously, and then devour their prisoners of war, or the conduct of the societies I have given a glimpse of? Common sense, common candour, and common feeling, will answer the interrogation. Let any man read Captain Wilson's account of the Pelew Islands, in order to see the most favourable view of savage society, when totally uncontaminated by civilized and Christianized man, and then the contrast will appear most glaring between civil and savage society.

There are institutions formed in our cities, for the purpose of collecting funds, for civilizing and Christianizing the Asiatics; as also, for the support of the ministers of religion. Yet, alas, while they were accumulating money for the conversion and tuition of the heathens, their own near neighbours, young and old, were absolutely perishing with hunger and cold. What a sight is this for kind heaven to behold! the professors

of religion passing and re-passing the doors of their perishing starving neighbours, to deposit in their mite-societies, their contributions for civilizing and Christianising the heathen, 16,000 miles distant, while they brush, with their silk and satin gowns, the very doors of their poor, unhappy, perishing countrymen, as they pass along, without entering the abodes of misery, giving a cent, or dropping a sympathetic tear over the disconsolate children of misfortune, the natural offspring of our boasted civilized society. Millions of money have been collected and expended for converting the Asiatics. Now let us, for a moment, candidly examine the event resulting from this profuse expenditure. I would first observe, that if mountains of gold, and valleys of diamonds, were expended for the real conversion of one soul from heathenish superstition to the faith of the gospel, and true Christian charity, I would consider the sacred boon as cheaply bought. But I fear this is not the case. Let any candid man read an account of the inhabitants of the East and West Indies, after their intercourse with the European Christians, and he will see a picture of cruelty, of avarice, and of murder, which will astonish him. Many of those who embraced the Christian belief were slaughtered, as well as those who had not. Indeed, the barbarities committed by the Christian powers, particularly the Spaniards, not only on the negroes, but on the original inhabitants of Hispaniola, will never, never be forgotten. Though it must be allowed, that Columbus, the first discoverer of this island, was not only an enterprising adventurer, but also a humane person; yet the Spaniards who followed him were monsters of cruelty, which their brutal conduct, in destroying the original natives of this island, in cold blood, will abundantly demonstrate. They massacred no less than three millions of men, women, and children, who were shot like birds of the air, hunted and torn to pieces by blood-hounds, like beasts of the forests, till they were extinct.

There is an equality, an equilibrium, in the manners and habits of savages, even in their most corrupt state, which is annihilated too soon after they become civilized and Christianized. All the difference I could see in the habitation of the African king and the house of one of his meanest subjects, was only in the dimensions; both were made for convenience, and without ornaments. The food and drink of both were

also of the same quality. Every family had one house and lot of land to cultivate, and no more. Their filial, fraternal and parental love, as well as hospitality, was admirable. One man had not the mortification to behold his neighbour, a poor sordid booby, possessing one hundred houses, while he had not one to shelter him from the storm; nor the vexation to be sensible that he had many thousand bushels of corn in his barn, while he was perishing with hunger, though far his superior in mental and moral excellence.

We will pass over, in astonished silence, the destruction and devastation which marked the footsteps of the Christian soldiers, when they attended or followed the Christian missionaries. We will only suppose that the preachers of the gospel sail for the Pelew Islands; they find them a simple, innocent, hospitable, affectionate people, with one principal fault, I mean cruelty to their enemies, who are at open war with them. Their wants are few, and plentifully supplied by nature; all unnecessary, or, at least, expensive decorations of person and habitation being totally unknown. We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, that the Christian missionaries arrive—they preach, with success, the Calvinistic doctrines; the people forego their absurd notions of religion, and embrace the true Christian theology: the work of civilizing will, of course, go hand-in-hand with that of Christianizing—in a few years families of artisans will arrive in the settlement—the ministers must have fine brick, instead of bamboo houses, built for their accomodation—the people, who before were happy with the necessaries of life, now begin to nurture a desire for fine houses, fine furniture, fine food, fine clothes, &c. &c; soon the land will be monopolized by speculators—then, by degrees, the cunning hypocrite will add house to house, and field to field, and become very rich, build himself a palace, others will imitate him, and they will become, by degrees, in miniature what Paris is in magnitude. All the former order, innocence, hospitality, and equality, is done away, and avarice, grandeur, and oppression, are introduced in their room, and all this without the aid of a single Christian soldier. But if a ship load of Arminian ministers should arrive, it will make bad worse, by dividing the people in opinion and affection, and lead the intelligent part of them to doubtful disputations, which will destroy all harmony and

social intercourse, engender strife, and eventually produce bigotry, which can only be equalled by military despotism. And even this last scourge of man would, no doubt, crown the efforts of these missionaries, when the colony became sufficiently rich and extensive, to justify George III, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain and Ireland, and defender of the faith, in sending a governor and his suite to this growing settlement, to take possession of it and build a garrison. This is far from being speculative reasoning; millions of East and West Indians have been bereaved of their little property, liberty, and their lives, by anti-christian priests and soldiers, under the banners of the cross.

There are thousands of temptations to vice, and vice of the most pernicious kind, in civil society, which savages are unacquainted with, and motives which naturally stimulated the latter to the practice of virtue, totally annihilated by the tyranny of custom among the former. I know these simple natural truths will be looked upon by our scientific Scribes and Pharisees, our D. D's. and L. L. D's. with the side-glance of contemptuous disregard, and with their usual haughtiness; they will affect to despise what they cannot controvert. The corruptions of civil society, which I deprecate, and merely give a glimpse of herein, as I could exhibit a drop from the full bucket of liquid poison, as a specimen of its virulence—I say, these corruptions are their main resort, were it not for them, they would have to apply their own hands to useful and healthful labour, instead of living in elegant idleness on the labour, and traversing of the rights of mankind.—Millions are expended every year for the punishment of crimes; and but little for the reformation of the poor unfortunate criminals, who are driven to desperation, by the disorders of society, of which they are the victims. The proper equilibrium of civilization being destroyed, the few are, of course, exalted above the state of man, and supported in that state of useless and deleterious grandeur, by wicked customs and by wicked laws; the necessary consequence of which is, that many are plunged into misery most deplorable, which unavoidably produces crime, and that crime is punished by death. One man, by the most deleterious villany, fraudulent speculation, low cunning, downright lying, and every species of deception, accumulates an immense fortune,

and rides in his superb carriage, while his honest neighbour has to walk upon crutches; and if this noblest work of nature, this poor honest man, who despises a vile and mean action, is reduced to want, he must starve or steal; if he considers the last of these two evils the least, and steals the value of the rope capable of hanging him, he is forthwith executed on a gallows, or deprived of liberty as thousands are, every year, in our boasted Christendom; while, at the same moment, the royal imperial or speculating villain, who robs the public of millions, is exalted, not to the gallows, but to the highest pinnacle of human grandeur, or a palace and not a prison is his dwelling. The fact is, the laws of civilized man, are so diametrically opposite to the laws of nature, that it is absolutely impossible for a man to obey the dictates of the religion of nature, much less the religion of revelation, without certain temporal ruin to himself and family, if he has one. This is a bold assertion: but I think I can demonstrate its authenticity, viz: although our celebrated D. D's. arrayed in sacerdotal silk and cambric, have rendered revealed religion, by their millions of books and of sermons, the most mysterious thing in the world, it is self-evident to me, that both natural, as well as revealed religion, are the most simple things in nature; or, if I may be allowed the comparison, they are just like their Divine Author, at once most simple and most sublime, most ancient and most new. Their fundamental duties may be comprised in a few words, viz: Love God above all things, for he has always loved you, and prove the sincerity of your love to him, by loving your neighbour as yourself, and being kind to him, as God is kind to you, and always do unto him as you would wish he should do unto you. These duties are obligatory on all mankind, civil and savage, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions. Now, the true lover of God, and sincere admirer of the sovereign beauty, cannot, without disobeying this golden rule, and the intellectual monitor who inculcates it, refuse to contribute his portion for the relief of a suffering child of affliction, should he possess only one dollar on earth. Again, non-resistance and kindness to enemies, is particularly inculcated by the good Spirit, as the most excellent virtue. Now he who obeys, literally obeys, these amiable duties, if rich, he will become poor; if he is poor, he will be kept so: be-

cause every sharper is watching an opportunity to cheat him, when he knows he can do it with impunity, and every fraudulent mendicant is always ready to impose upon his good nature. Poverty, in the best of times, and starvation in the worst, must be his portion. This is, alas, far from speculative reasoning; too, too many of the flowers of civil society, who stemmed the torrent of our corrupt manners, have been brought to beggary and a premature death, the martyrs of popular degeneracy.

I know a man myself, the most liberal, generous, and intelligent that I ever knew, who possessed, a few years ago, a clear patrimonial fortune of 40,000 dollars—he has been always industrious and economical, yet both the fruit of his industry and his fortune has been swept away by the votaries of corruption, and he is now reduced to the most distressing pecuniary embarrassments. Now he is poor, he is slighted; while fraudful speculators, who accumulated large fortunes, partly by imposing upon the generous disposition of this amiable child of nature, this honest man, the noblest work of God, are fawned upon and flattered by the sycophantic votaries of mammon. Alas, how many such encouragements to sordid vice, and discouragements to liberal virtue, do our commercial cities exhibit to popular view! Thus, in all civilized and Christianized countries, vice is eulogized and rewarded, while virtue is traduced and punished; and the present order, or rather the disorder, of society renders this outrage on common justice and common sense unavoidable; and till the cause be removed the effects will always be the same. And, I cannot see how this dreadful corruption, the source of all this moral mischief, can be remedied or exterminated; for it is absurd to suppose, that a vitiated body will purify itself. If the corrupt supporters of the obvious disorders in civil society had the will, as they have the power, to remove the cause, the effects would, of course, cease; but visionary are all such hopes, without the interposition of Divine Providence. The victims of these disorders are beheld dangling under the gallows, not only without pity, but with contempt, while the authors and supporters of them are beheld in their splendid mansions with veneration, and almost adoration.

Our cities are literally crowded with courtesans, though

many of them are naturally intelligent, generous, and ... beautiful of their sex, yet they are all despised; while our parsimonious bachelors and unprincipled libertines, who are the primary cause of their degradation, are highly respected. I rarely heard of, or saw a courtesan in the savage nations I visited; because they all mate, like pigeons, for love, and not for money, as we do. I recollect one time, in a country scarce ever visited by civilized man, the savage prince used us with uncommon hospitality, gave us, without solicitation, the very best accommodations, made a savage entertainment and a war-dance for our amusement, and provided the best beds and offered me a female, which I thought proper to reject. This is the only instance of want of delicacy, and never did I witness a want of hospitality in these children of nature. I never heard of cruel husbands, or scolding wives, because, as they mate for love, when that love ceases they mate no longer; but this very seldom happens. They sometimes have five wives, but generally not more than two. The above generous prince had three wives. There is one custom I greatly admire among savage nations, and that is the tenderness and modesty with which they treat their wives while pregnant. What an amiable pattern for the male and female saints of Christendom to imitate.

The contrast I have attempted to make between civil and savage society, or, I should rather have said, the shadow of a contrast I have made, though but a mere glimpse, is matter of fact. Still I hope, brief as it is, it will be sufficient to prove that the ills in civil society are impatable to man alone; that God has provided plentifully for the comfortable accommodation of all his creatures, and if they suffer, it is man alone that makes them suffer.

As a favorable sample of savage society, I will quote a brief and authentic account of the Pelew Islands: character of the king and of the natives.

"The *Palos* or *Pelew* Islands are a chain of small islands, situated between the 5th and 9th degree of north latitude, and between 130 and 136 degrees of east longitude from *Greenwich*, and lie in a N. E. and S. W. direction: they are long but narrow, of a moderate height, well covered with wood, at least such of the islands as our people had an opportunity of seeing. They are circled on the west side by a

reef of coral, of which no end could be seen from any eminences they were on; this reef, in some places, extends five or six leagues from the shore, and in no parts that were visited, less than two or three.

"The reader will bear in mind, that the Antelope was not a ship particularly sent out to explore undiscovered regions, or prepared to investigate the manners of mankind. It had not on board philosophers, botanists, draftsmen, or gentlemen experienced in such scientific pursuits as might enable them to examine, with judgment, objects which presented themselves, or trace nature through all her labyrinths. Distress threw them on these islands, and when there, every thought was solely occupied on the means of getting away, and liberating themselves from a situation, of all others the most horrible to the imagination, that of being cut off for ever from the society of the rest of the world.

"Forlorn and melancholy as their lot at first appeared, the gloom it cast over them was soon dispelled, by finding themselves amongst a humane race of men, who were superior to the wish of taking any advantage of their distress; who had hearts to feel for what our people suffered; benevolence to relieve their immediate wants; and generosity to co-operate with them in every effort to work out their deliverance. The *English* possessed what was in their estimation of the highest value—iron and arms. The *Malay* wreck had, for the first time, thrown in their way a few pieces of the former; the use and power of the latter had only been discovered to them by the ill fortune of our countrymen. These objects, so desirable to them, they might unquestionably have possessed themselves of, the number of our people capable of bearing arms being only twenty-seven, the captain and surgeon included; but their notions of moral rectitude lay as a barrier against the intrusion of such a thought;—renouncing every advantage of power, they approached them only with the smiles of benevolence.

"All the varied courtesies offered to the *English* by the natives, from whom a very different line of conduct had been apprehended, operated forcibly on their minds; and their misfortune happening at a moment when their assistance was very material for *Abba Thulle's* service against his enemies; this circumstance soon formed a connexion, and produced an

unreserved intercourse and steady friendship between the natives and our countrymen, which, during the thirteen weeks they remained there, afforded them opportunity of observing the manners and dispositions of the inhabitants, and thereby to form some notion of their government and customs. If they were not enabled to trace the current of power through all its various channels, their observations could pursue it to the fountain-head, from whence the whole seemed to take its rise; and it appeared, beyond a doubt, that the chief authority was lodged in the person of *Abba Thulle, the king*.

"At *Pelew*, the king was the first person in the government. He appeared to be considered as the father of his people; and, though divested of all external decorations of royalty, he had every mark of distinction paid to his person.

General character of the Natives.

"The conduct of these people towards the English, was, from the first to the last, uniformly courteous and attentive, accompanied with a politeness that surprised those on whom it was bestowed. At all times they seemed so cautious of intruding, that on many occasions they sacrificed their natural curiosity to that respect, which natural good manners appeared to them to exact. Their liberality to the English, at their departure, when individuals poured in all the best they had to give, and that of articles, too, of which they had far from plenty themselves, strongly demonstrated that these testimonies of friendship were the effusion of hearts that glowed with the flame of philanthropy; and when our countrymen, from want of stowage, were compelled to refuse the further marks of kindness which were offered them, the entreating eyes and supplicating gestures with which they solicited their acceptance of what they had brought, most forcibly expressed how much their minds were wounded, to think they had not arrived early enough to have their little tributes of affection received.

"Nor was this conduct of theirs an ostentatious civility exercised towards strangers. Separated, as they were, from the rest of the world, the character of a stranger had never entered their imagination. They felt our people were distressed, and in consequence wished they would share whatever they had to give. It was not that worldly munificence

that bestows and spreads its favours with a distant eye to retribution. Their bosoms had never harboured so contaminating a thought—No; it was the pure emotions of native benevolence. It was the love of man to man. It was a scene that pictured human nature in triumphant colouring; and, whilst their *liberality* gratified the sense, their *virtue* struck the heart!

"Our people had also many occasions to observe, that this spirit of urbanity operated in all the intercourse the natives had among themselves. The attention and tenderness shown to the women was remarkable, and the deportment of the men to each other mild and affable; insomuch that, in various scenes of which they were spectators, during their stay on these islands, the English never saw any thing that had the appearance of contest, or passion: every one seemed to attend to his own concerns, without interfering with the business of his neighbour. The men were occupied in their plantations, in cutting wood, making hatchets, line, or small cords; or some in building houses or canoes; others in making nets or fishing tackle. The forming of darts, spears, and other warlike weapons, engrossed the attention of many more; as also the making of paddles for their boats, the fashioning of domestic utensils, and the preparing and burning the chinam. Such as had abilities to conduct any useful employment were called by the natives Tackalbys; of this class were reckoned the people who built or inlaid the canoes; such also were those who manufactured the tortoise shell, or made the pottery.

"As industry, however zealous, must be slow in producing its purpose, unaided by proper implements, and labour rendered extremely tedious from this deficiency, yet, in regions where such advantages are denied, we do not find that the ardour of attempting is abated. A steady perseverance, to a certain degree, accomplishes the end aimed at; and Europe hath not, without reason, been astonished at the many singular productions imported from the southern discoveries, so neatly and curiously wrought by artless hands, unassisted but by such simple tools as serve only to increase our surprise, when we see how much they have effected. Every man, by his daily labour, gained his daily sustenance; necessity imposing this exertion, no idle or indolent people were seen, not

even among those whom superior rank might have exempted; on the contrary, these excited their inferiors to toil and activity, by their own examples. The king himself was the best maker of hatchets in the island, and was usually at work whenever disengaged from matters of importance. Even the women shared in the common toil; they laboured in the plantations of yams, and it was their province to pluck out all the weeds that shot up from between the stones of the paved causeways. They manufactured the mats and baskets, as well as attended to their domestic concerns. The business of tatooing was also carried on by them; those who entered this employment were denominated Tackalbys arthiel, or female artists. Their manners were courteous, though they were far from being of loose or vicious dispositions;—they, in general, rejected connexions with our people, and resented any indelicate or unbecoming freedom with a proper sense of modesty.

"In such scenes of patient industry, the years of fleeting life passed on; and the cheerful disposition of the natives fully authorized our people to suppose, that there were few hours of it either irksome or oppressive. They were strangers to those passions which ambition excites—to those cares which affluence awakens. Their existence appeared to glide along like a smooth, undisturbed stream; and when the natural occurrences of life ruffled the surface, they possessed a sufficient portion of fortitude to recover soon its wonted calm. Their happiness seemed to be secured to them on the firmest basis; for the little which Nature and Providence spread before them they enjoyed with a contented cheerfulness; nor were their bosoms habituated to cherish wishes which they had not the power of gratifying. And it will not surely be denied, that in civilized nations, the error of a contrary conduct exhibits, among the inactive, many melancholy, repining countenances; whilst it prompts more daring and uncontroled spirits to aim at compassing their views by injustice or rapine, and to break down the sacred barrier of society.

"From the general character of these people, the reader, I should conceive, will be disposed to allow, that their lives do credit to human nature; and that, however untutored, however uninformed, their manners present an interesting picture to mankind. We see a despotic governmen without

one shade of tyranny, and power only exercised for general happiness, the subjects looking up, with filial reverence, to their king; and, whilst a mild government and an affectionate confidence linked their little state in bonds of harmony, gentleness of manners was the natural result, and fixed a brotherly and disinterested intercourse among one another.

"I am well aware, that in the expedition against Pelew, the destroying the houses and plantations of the little island belonging to it, which the natives, through fear, abandoned, as well as the killing those whom they captured in battle, are both of them circumstances which will appear to militate against that humanity which, throughout this work, I have attributed to the people of Pelew. Respecting the first, though the landing in an enemy's country, and spreading devastation and distress, is by no means a practice new in the annals of history, political necessity qualifying the measure, yet in these regions it seemed also to militate so much against their accustomed maxim, never to take an enemy by surprise, but to give previous notice of a meditated attack, that I am strongly inclined to think this might have been a new art of war, suggested to the king by the Malay favourite, as it totally contradicted that open generosity with which they at all times conducted hostilities.

"As to their putting their prisoners to death, Raa Kook, on being censured for it by Captain Wilson, said it had not been always so; and, in assigning the reasons for being compelled to do it, seemed to shelter the proceeding under the plea of political necessity. The number captured in any of their battles must, from their mode of engaging, be at all times very trifling.

"On the day of our departure, an English pendant and a plate of copper were fixed to a large tree, and the meaning of the inscription was explained to the King, and that it was put up as a memorial of the *English* having been there. He was pleased with the idea, and explained it himself to his own people, promising that it should never be taken down, and if by any accident it should happen to fall, he would take care of it, and have it preserved at *Pelew*.

"The discourse of the day turned much on the subject of their departure. Whilst they sat together, Abba Thulle addressing Captain Wilson, said, 'You are going; and when

gone, I fear the inhabitants of Artingall will come down in great numbers and molest me, as they have done frequently before; and having lost the aid of the English, I shall be unable to resist them, unless you will leave me a few of your muskets, which you have already taught me to believe you would.' Captain Wilson spoke to his officers on the propriety of doing this instantly; they seemed somewhat unwilling to put the arms they actually meant to give them, into their hands till the last moment; that mistrust which had possessed their minds, still kept its hold, and appeared too strongly impressed on their countenances to escape the quick discernment of the King; who, willing perhaps that they should know he had noticed their apprehensions, with that calm reflecting temper which marked his character, asked if they were afraid to trust him with a few arms? 'What is there (said he) can make you harbour doubts of me? I never testified any fear of you, but endeavoured to convince you that I wished your friendship. Had I been disposed to have harmed you, I might have done it long ago. I have at all times had you in my power—but have only exercised that power in making it useful to you—and can you not confide in me at the last?'

"When the foregoing pages are attentively considered, the hospitality with which our people had been treated, both by Abba Thulle and the natives, from the first friendly interview to the present moment—who had spread before them whatever they had to give, or their country produced, and who, added to all this, as an unequivocal proof of the high opinion he entertained of the English, was going to consign his own son to their care—is there a reader who, recalling all these circumstances, can wonder they affected the sensibility of Abba Thulle? Or rather, will there be found a reader who will not be ready with myself to ask, under what sun was ever tempered the steel that could cut such a passage to the heart as this just reproach of the King's? Every individual felt its force, and its truth; every individual also felt how much his mind had injured the virtues of this excellent man. Nor was the wound of this reproach rendered less acute by the consciousness each man had, of having been so lately induced, by his unjust fears, to join in such destructive counsel against him and his family.

"But the eye of philosophy will candidly view and discriminate between the two parties. The people of Pelew, tutored in the school of Nature, acted from her impulse alone, they were open and undisguised; unconscious of deceit themselves, they neither feared nor looked for it in others. Our countrymen, born and brought up in a civilized nation, where art assumes every form and colouring of life, and is even perfected into a science, were fashioned by education to suspicion and distrust, and awake to all their busy suggestions. Such is the fatal knowledge the world teaches mankind, fencing too often the human heart against the inlets of its own happiness, by weakening confidence, the most valuable bond of society!

"The king's rebuke was too powerful for our people to resist; they instantly desired the captain to assure him, that whatever had been promised should be faithfully fulfilled, and, to convince him they could have no suspicions, the arms should be immediately given to him; they accordingly sent on board for the quantity of arms they could conveniently spare, and on the boat's return, presented him with five muskets, five cutlasses, nearly a barrel of gunpowder, with gunflints, and ball in proportion. Captain Wilson also made him a present of his own fowling-piece, with which he seemed to be particularly pleased, having often seen its effect on the fowls and other birds at Pelew.

"And now the gentle spirit of the king appeared to forget the trace of all that had happened; but the scene enabled every one present to transmit to posterity a most captivating picture of the forcible, yet mild triumph of virtue!"

As a contrast, look at the history of civilized nations. We will pass by, with astonished silence, the rage of Christians against each other, and merely mention the penury and persecution of a few of the brightest and best of the heathen philosophers. Behold Homer, the first of poets, doomed to beg his bread; Socrates, the first of philosophers, was, by a court of justice, condemned to death by poison, for teaching truth and opposing the idolatry of Athens; Pythagoras, the first teacher of the true system of Astronomy, and the first of philanthropists, was burned alive for his knowledge and virtue, by the ungrateful Crotonians; Plato, though the

wisest and best author of his age, was doomed to slavery; and Seneca, the first of moral philosophers, was bled to death by his own pupil. Even the republics of Greece and Rome, Asia Minor, and others I might mention, though celebrated once for their virtue, were the confederated murderers of their fellow-creatures, the systematic plunderers of their neighbours, and the traitors and tyrants of mankind. Methinks I hear the intelligent, but unfortunate victim of our moral corruptions exclaim, with a sorrowful heart, "Alas! why is it that in all nations and among all denominations, this cruel disposition is found in man to slaughter man? Why, oh! why, are not all men like the amiable Toussaint L'Ouverture, or the hospitable Abba Thulle? Why will they not, like them, enjoy the happiness of beneficence, which is so precious, and so free for all to participate?" They very well know, that all happiness that is genuine, consists in promoting the happiness of others, with a single eye to please God alone. This only is pure virtue. To find myself placed in a world of monsters, not of men; I am tempted to believe there is too much truth in the picture Voltaire has drawn of the miseries of humanity; or I am ready to exclaim with Brutus, after the loss of the battle of Philippi, "Alas! Virtue, I worshipped thee as a god, but I find thee to be an empty shade!"

God's yoke certainly is very easy, and his burden very light, namely: gratitude to God and affection to man; to love all, to injure none, no, not even an innocent insect. For, to love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves, is the essence of religion; on these two commands hang all the law and the prophets. Now, the God of love, though he cannot force his rational offspring, yet he can use every possible way to allure, to win, to woo us to our happiness. His Spirit speaks thus to me, in the inward of my soul, and if my unfortunate reader would but humbly listen, he would, most assuredly, hear the same endearing words addressed to him or her:—"What could I do for you more than what I have already done? I give you all good things to enjoy, and only require a grateful heart in return; I prohibit you from the enjoyment of none of my benefits that are necessary for you; my commandments are mild and moderate, namely, that you should be grateful to God, kind to man, merciful to the brute,

and not injure even an innocent insect, by careless cruelty, nor yourself by intemperance; till you obey these, my primary commands, you cannot, in no case, enter my kingdom of happiness; and if you continue to violate them, in your intercourse with your fellow-creatures, you violate my immutable laws of order; you change the earth, which I made a terrestrial paradise, for your sake, to a loathsome dungeon; and I can, in no case, avoid measuring in an exact ratio to you, what you have measured to others. How often have I (as I now again do) appealed to your own conscience, to your reason, to your common sense, for a justification of my ways to man? How often have I offered to open my kingdom of love in your souls? but you would not even listen to, much less obey, my kind solicitation, or my gentle reproof. I pity, but cannot help you in any other way; I can and do attract you, if not forcibly, at least most powerfully, to turn from the foolish forms, fashions, and ceremonies of cruel men; and seek your happiness and tranquillity in your merciful God.

Then, and not till then, will the soul bring forth not the shadows of virtue, but the virtues themselves. Then, being, in truth, the child of heaven, it will be her super-celestial delight to do good to man, with the pure motive to please God alone, and, in imitation of his beneficence, she will always, as much as possible, while bestowing the benefit, hide the benefactor, nor will suffuse the countenance of the child of misfortune with confusion, and wound his susceptible imagination with grief, while contributing towards his relief, as is too often done by the professors of religion and moral philosophy. Reflect how often the intelligent child of misfortune, whose philanthropy reduced him to want and misery, has his refined feelings wounded by the ostentatious parade of charity, bestowed with a supercilious nod, by the rich booby, a sanctimonious frown, by the proud devotee, and a sarcastical reflection, by the minister, in his sacerdotal garments. Surely, if any thing can force the reluctant frown of heaven on earth, it must be such unfeeling charity. Little do such men know of the blessedness of doing good, from the pure love of good, with the view of pleasing God only, and the delight which attends the sincere endeavour to honour and glorify him, by imitating his divine philanthropy, from the same grateful and generous motive.

But, it may be asked, where will the poor, patient, docile, innocent horse, who was tortured to a lingering death by civilized man—where will he meet a recompense, as nothing but cruelty and hunger was his portion in this world? To answer this interrogation, I must beg leave to transcribe a quotation from my "Flowers of Literature," page 342, third edition.

"God in the plenitude of his goodness, has accommodated us with a paradise to dwell in, carpetted with beauteous flowers beneath, and studded with silver stars above us; but we have metamorphosed it to a slaughter-house. Millions of the human race, especially young children, and billions of the brutal creation, are tortured and slaughtered every year. The view we have given of man's cruelty, in our historical compendium, when compared to what God views every day, is like comparing one to a thousand. But will he always suffer villany thus to prosper; the man who says yes, must be either a knave or a fool."

The sentiments of that learned and pious divine, the Rev. John Wesley, tally with my own, as expressed in my "Excellency of Virtue." I will take the liberty to transcribe a few of his thoughts.

"To descend to a few particulars. The whole brute creation will undoubtedly be restored, not only to the vigour, strength, and swiftness, which they had at their creation, but to a far higher degree of each than they ever enjoyed. They will be restored, not only to that measure of understanding which they had in paradise, but to a degree of it, as much higher than that, as the understanding of an elephant is beyond that of a worm. And whatever affections they had in the garden of God, will be restored with vast increase, being exalted and refined in a manner which we ourselves are not able to comprehend. The liberty they then had will be completely restored, and they will be free in all their motions."

Relative to the animal creation finding a sure recompense in their merciful Creator, for the unparalleled barbarity they, though innocent, useful, and docile, receive from the hands of cruel man. I might refer to the sentiments of the Pythagoreans, Platonists and Bramins, respecting transmigration, also to Bishop Butler, Dr. Hartley and Dr. Rush.

Many and sharp the num'rous ills
Inwoven with our frame!
More pointed still we make ourselves,
Regret, remorse, and shame!
And man, whose heav'n-erected face,
The smiles of love adorn,
Man's inhumanity to man,
Makes countless thousands mourn!

If I'm design'd yon lordling's slave,
By nature's law design'd,
Why was an independent wish
E'er planted in my mind?
If not, why am I subject to
His cruelty, or scorn?
Or why has man the will and pow'r
To make his fellow mourn?

I recollect seeing a compilation, entitled, "Biographical Account of eminent pious Women, who were a support and honour to the Christian Religion." But, on viewing the characters exhibited by the religious compiler, I found them all to be queens, dutchesses, countesses, ladies of honour, or ladies of wealth; the memoir of one poor pious woman was not among them. But this is only one instance in thousands, where even religion is used by interested men as a fan to kindle the pride of the sons of venality and daughters of grandeur from a spark to a flame, as if the tinsel of royalty, and the pride and pageantry of courts, were not sufficient to answer the deleterious purpose.

What did John the Baptist mean, when he commanded his hearers in the name of the Lord, to bring forth fruit meet for repentance? Most assuredly *restitution*, as far as possible. Can I worship God acceptably, and hate my brother? Impossible. Can I truly repent before a heart-searching God, and not make restitution for injury done my fellow-traveller to the grave, in the same ratio as it was done, whether public or private? Impossible.

How pleasing must the sight be to God, and honourable to man, which the primitive church exhibited in the act of adoration! When we recollect the consistency of their mode of

worship and the reciprocal love of the worshippers, the amiable simplicity of their manners, equality of their domestic economy, the ample provision made for their poor, and the equilibrium they maintained as it respected power and riches, (indeed they had all things in common,) we are struck with admiration. The money that is squandered now in ornamenting places for worship, and supporting ministers in elegant idleness, was then given to support widows and orphans. Witness the Lord Bishop of Waterford, who receives about 80,000 dollars a year for reading a few sermons! Yet he can see, in the vicinity of his splendid domain, the poor perish for want, without common commiseration. Indeed, it is impossible for language to express the astonishing contrast between primitive and present Christianity, in principle and practice. When I read the excellent apostolic mode of social worship, and contrast it with our modern modes, I am truly amazed that all the people themselves do not see the extravagant absurdity and iniquity of the one, and the economical excellence and utility of the other.

"Whatever mitigates the woes, or increases the happiness of others, this is my criterion of goodness: and whatever injures society at large, or any individual in it—this is my measure of iniquity. What think you, madam, of my creed?" says the ingenious but unfortunate Scottish bard, Robert Burns.

Condorcet, in his life of Turgot says that "Turgot was too enlightened to expect that any thing but abuses could arise from any scheme of religion that makes the salvation of men depend upon their creed." This is called by some pious commentator a censure upon religion; and it is now thought proper by many clergymen even in this free country, where the constitution has placed all on an equal footing, to denounce those who differ from them in their religious creed, as doomed to everlasting punishment. I cannot find expressions strong enough to convey my opinion of the presumption and wickedness of such preachers. But I will give an extract from a letter of the great philosopher and benevolent friend of man, Dr. Franklin, to Mr. Whitefield. Speaking of the faith mentioned, he says: "But I wish it were more productive of good works, than I have generally seen it: I mean real good works; *works of kindness, charity, mercy,*

and *public spirit*; not holiday keeping, sermon reading or hearing; performing such ceremonies, or making long prayers filled with flatteries and compliments, despised even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity. The worship of God is a duty; the hearing and reading of sermons may be useful; but if men rest in hearing and praying, as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself by being watered, and putting forth leaves, though it produced no fruit.

"Your great master thought much less of these outward professions than many of his modern disciples. He preferred the *doers of* the word to the mere *hearers*: the heretical but charitable Samaritan, to the uncharitable though orthodox priest, and sanctified Levites, and those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, entertainment to the stranger and relief to the sick, though they never heard of his name, he declares shall in the last day be accepted, when those who cry Lord! Lord! who value themselves upon their faith, but have neglected good works, shall be neglected. He professed that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance, which implied his modest opinion, that there were some who were so good that they need not hear even him for improvement; but now-a-days we scarcely have a little parson who does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his petty ministrations; and whoever omits them, offends God. I wish to such more humility, and to you health and happiness."—*Private correspondence of Franklin.*

"The heart that bleeds for others woes,
Shall feel each selfish sorrow less;
The breast that happiness bestows,
Re-acted happiness shall bless."

The man who wants compassion, wants the distinguishing characteristic of his noble nature, and he has no more relish for the celestial pleasure of beneficence than a brute. The compassionate man will pity and relieve an insect, more suddenly and more sweetly, than the cruel man will his own blood relation, or his own legitimate offspring. Alas! why is it that there is so little of this celestial virtue among the professed disciples of the compassionate Jesus? Where do we find one who sympathises, and melts at human wo?

Where do we find a compassionate Lady Guion, a benevolent Francis Xavier, who daily imitated their Saviour, by going about doing good to their unfortunate fellow mortals? In modern times, I must confess, I find very few blessed in any eminent degree with this amiable disposition; and few so much as the benificent Richard Reynolds, the philanthropist of Bristol.

Although I dislike extolling any mortal, however worthy, and whether dead or alive, yet the virtue of Richard Reynolds, was so pure in itself, so delicate in its administration, and is so scarce withal in this dark and selfish age, that I will describe his character from W. Thorp's address, delivered at a meeting of his fellow-citizens, convened for the purpose of forming a charitable institution to perpetuate his memory, and in some measure supply his loss; at which 445*l.* sterling, was contributed to aid the funds of the "*Reynolds Commemoration Society.*"

"The benevolence of Richard Reynolds, was of the highest order. It was liberal, diffusive, universal—not narrowed by party prejudice, nor bounded by the limits of party connexions, it embraced the Family of Man—yea, the whole circle of living beings, endowed with a capacity of pleasure or of pain. In its contemplation of the vast, however, it did not overlook the minute; in its comprehension of the whole, it did not, like the modern philosophy, neglect the parts of which that whole is composed. Its operations were regulated by the respective claims of nature, of gratitude, of friendship, of consanguinity, of religious connexions, of moral worth, and of various degrees of wretchedness amongst the unhappy objects upon whom his bounty was bestowed.

"Proceeding in the first instance, from compassion, it was afterwards purified by religious principle, and strengthened by a sense of his awful responsibility to the great Lord of All, for the talent with which he was entrusted. Compassion, improperly cultivated, degenerates into an useless sensibility. The pleasure that attends it, soothes and deceives the heart. An interesting account of human wretchedness excites its pleasurable sympathetic emotions: the tongue utters the law of kindness; the man exults in his own virtuous sensibility, and thus becomes the dupe of self-deception. But to enter the abodes of the wretched—to examine into debts, and

wants, and diseases—to encounter loathsome sights, and endure offensive smells within the very sphere of infection; to give time, and thought, and talent, and labour, and property—this is the substance and not the shadow of virtue: the pleasure of sensibility may be greater; but greater also is the danger of self-deceit. Death-bed scenes, eloquently described, delight the imagination; but they who are most delighted, are not always the first to visit a dying neighbour, and sit up all night, and wipe away the cold sweat, and moisten the parched lip, and remove phlegm, and contrive easy postures, and bear with fretfulness, and drop the pious thought, and console the departing spirit! Ah, no. These boasted children of sentimental benevolence, may often repair to the temple of virtue, but not to sacrifice. Extreme sensibility is a mental disease; it unfits us for relieving the miserable, and tempts us to turn away, like the cold-hearted Priest and Levite. It avoids the sight, and suppresses the thought of pain—stops the ears to the cry of indigence, passes by the house of mourning, and abandons the nearest friends, when sick, to the care of the nurse and the physician; and when dead, to those who mourn for hire. And all this under the pretence of delicacy of feeling, and a tender heart! Such was not the benevolence of the Bristol Philanthropist. Those acts of bounty which flow from the influence of sensibility, soon fail; like the good seed fallen on stony ground, they soon spring up, and soon wither. But the benevolence of Richard Reynolds, purified, strengthened, and animated by Christian principle, was steady, uniform and persevering. Neither ingratitude, nor imposture, nor opposition, nor even the frost of age, could chill its ardours or relax its exertions. It was active and industrious. His eloquence was not that of words, but that of deeds. He said little, but he did much. He left others to define benevolence; he studied the practice of it. While the child of sensibility was weeping, he was extending relief. While philosophers were disputing whether philanthropy arose from selfishness, or instinctive tenderness, or modes of education, or the force of early and local associations, or from the combined influence of all these causes—heedless of their contentions, he was exemplifying in real life, privately, and before the world, the character of a true philanthropist. Their speculation he reduced to action;

their abstract notions he embodied; and to their airy nothings, he gave not only habitation, but a reality, a substance, and a form. Like his beloved Master, whose spirit he had imbibed, and whose example he closely copied, he went about continually doing good.

"His beneficence was guided by wisdom and discretion. It was not scattered promiscuously and at random, but bestowed upon such objects, and in such a way, as he deemed, (and he was a most excellent judge,) the most effective in promoting the individual and general good. To furnish employment for the healthy and the strong; to supply the wants of the really indigent and necessitous; to ease the aching heart of the father, who after toiling the live-long day, finds, instead of rest at home, that he is called to bear, what he is least able to bear, the cries of a numerous family, demanding bread, when he has none to give; to assuage the sorrows of poverty, overtaken by sickness, or overwhelmed with misfortune; to smooth the furrowed cheek, and make the winter of age wear the aspect of spring; to act the part of a father to helpless orphans, on whom no parent of their own ever smiled; to supply the want of sight to the blind, feet to the lame, and speech to the dumb; to rescue vice from guilt, and infamy and ruin; and during the season, afford a shelter from the fury of the storm: to relieve the distress, and yet spare the blushes of those who have known better days, by administering that bounty, which they in the time of their prosperity were ready to administer to others—*these*, were the employments of Richard Reynolds—*these* were the offices of mercy, in which he delighted! His heart told him what to do; his conscience, as the Vicegerent of Heaven, reminded him of the claims of moral obligation, and insisted that it must be done. His head devised the means, and arranged the plan of action; and his hands, obedient to the dictates of his heart, and the mandates of conscience, were ever ready to execute the plans which his head had formed. Thus his WHOLE existence was consecrated to the cause of benevolence? If we love the modesty which concealed the hand that bestowed the princely donation, we revere the courage which occasionally stepped forward to avow himself the donor, when his design was to stimulate others to follow his example. His whole conduct was marked by the

most consummate wisdom; and left us at a loss whether to admire most the benevolence of his heart, or the power of his understanding—the deeds of mercy which he performed, or the manner in which he performed them.

"All his prudence and benevolence was adorned with modesty and humility. So far was he from being inflated with the pride of wealth, that he spoke the genuine sentiments of his heart, when he said to a friend who applied to him with a case of distress, "My talent is the meanest of all talents—a little sordid dust; but the man in the parable, who had but one talent, was accountable: and for the talent that I possess, humble as it is, I am also accountable to the great Lord of All." His bounty was not the result of fear, like the obedience of a slave, who trembles under the scourge of a haughty tyrant. It was not excited by the prospect of remuneration, nor extorted by the dread of punishment, nor performed with a view to *merit* an inheritance in the kingdom of Heaven.

"Enamoured with the charms of Virtue, he delighted to behold her native beauties, and to obey her sweet commands. He practised benevolence for the sake of the pleasure with which the practice of it was attended. He felt a luxury in doing good, and he determined to enjoy that luxury. His own experience taught him, that the God of Mercy, who formed the heart of man to be the dispenser of his bounty, has ordained, that like the vital fluid, which goes from the heart, to diffuse life and genial warmth through the whole system, it should return, in the course of circulation, not impoverished, but enriched, to the source whence it flowed. His goodness might sometimes be requited with evil, but this moved him not. He knew that no deed of mercy could be wasted; that some ministering angel is stationed in every department of the moral world, to gather up the fragments that fall from the table of benevolence, that nothing may be lost."

I may here introduce an extract from the last exhortation of MATTHEW FRANKLIN, delivered in Friends' Meeting, Pearl street, New York, January 9th, 1815.

"*Pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is this—to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction.*"

"I do not apprehend that the apostle James intended to confine the duty of Christians to this part of benevolence only,

but being desirous of establishing in the minds of the followers of Jesus, the principles of an expanded beneficence, gave this as a prominent example of what they were bound to perform. He doubtless intended to be understood, that the cherishing of those feelings of compassion and humanity, was one of the best evidences, to show that men were the friends and not the enemies of our Lord and Saviour.

"When man's heart is touched and enlightened with God's Spirit, he endeavours to derive his happiness from these higher sources. He endeavours to feel for the distresses of all—he attempts to relieve and alleviate them; he seeks out the subjects of affliction, and labours to gladden the heart of the wretched.

"This is illustrated by the parable in the holy writ, respecting the good Samaritan. A certain man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves, that robbed him, and wounded him, and left him half dead. A priest and a Levite, in passing that way, observed him, but they had no compassion on him. They passed by, it is said, on the other side. But a Samaritan was actuated by a different spirit—by the spirit of true religion: for when he saw the sufferer, he hastened to him—he bound up his wounds, pouring balm into them. He was not deterred from the performance of his duty, by any consideration of expense, but made provision with a liberal hand for the future necessities of him on whom he had pity.

"We are generally too remiss, cold, and negligent in seeking out the abodes of poverty and sorrow. We should be active, zealous, and vigilant in the pursuit of them. Those who are of my sex, should devote time to prosecute this benevolent concern. And you, my friends of the female sex, should also be engaged. You are better calculated than we are, to exercise the plans of charity—you know better in what manner to make the necessary inquiries in order to discover latent afflictions, and afford consolation, and apply the proper remedies. We ought each to go there, hand-in-hand together.—O my friends!"—

Here he was suddenly stopped, while he was in this way, pleading with his usual earnestness and affection, the cause of the indigent and friendless, by a mandate from the counsels of eternal wisdom; which arresting him at the com-

mencement of a sentence, instantly closed his testimony, and shut up his mental powers in utter oblivion to the woes and sufferings of his fellow creatures, an awful lesson to all those who duly consider it.

Mr. O'Connel in his late patriotic address on the sufferings of the poor, proves, beyond the possibility of refutation, that Ireland is above all islands on earth, the most fertile and salubrious, and exports more provisions; and yet the oppressed labourers always suffer privation, and sometimes starvation. And to consolidate the assertion, he demonstrates that "out of a population of 8,000,000, 3,000,000, have to be supported by charity!" and that charity so scanty, as merely to sustain life.

The parable of the rich man and Lazarus will instantly hush into eternal silence, any doubts relative to the deserts of the poor, and "you'll quite forget their vices in their woe." Those who know their own defects, are always ready to make allowance for the defects of others. But, alas! self-ignorance will often hide or excuse, or palliate our own faults, and magnify and accuse those of our neighbours.—Were we to examine our conduct by the light of divine truth, we would find enough to despise and censure at home, and we would learn to spare the feelings of the poor, and not suffuse the supplicating countenance of the unfortunate, with confusion and grief, which I am sorry to say is too often done. Were we properly impressed with a sense of our duty as Christians, we would not require entreaties, solicitations and remonstrances, to stimulate us to perform the duties of philanthropy. The recollection of God's kindness to us all, should incline us to be kind to each other; more especially in the time of affliction. Nothing, in my humble opinion, is more hateful and detestable in the sight of our merciful God, than to see a rich man hoarding up in his coffers, the eyes of the blind, the feet of the lame, the health of the sick and decrepit; while at the same time, he daily sees passing and re-passing, those poor objects of misfortune and affliction, whom God has put it in his power to relieve and comfort. But, alas! instead of opening his coffers and bestowing some of that which would be eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and health to the sick and decrepit, he shuts up his bowels of compassion against them, and eventually

locks up his h... ...th his money, in his strong box. If my limits would allow it, I could prove by stubborn facts, that God, in just indignation, often gives such penurious wretches their reward even in this life. Many, very many, of them are so deluded by avarice, that they will not allow themselves even the necessaries of life. Not a few of them commit suicide, least they should come to poverty; though in the uncontrolled possession of thousands of dollars. Others reserve their riches for their own degenerate sons; who work out their own destruction, ruin their constitutions, characters, and souls, through the instrumentality of the money their penurious parents hoarded up for them. Surely the spider in the miser's strong box, the traveller who views the lordling's domains, the beggar, who beholds the jewels with which the monarch's royal diadem is studded, enjoy these baubles when their imperious owners are the food of worms, and the victims of putrefaction. At any rate, the miser can but view and admire his money, the lord of the manor his rich domains, the monarch his royal appendages; and the spider, the traveller, and the beggar can do the same. But when the great men, the mighty men, and the rich men act the part of good stewards, with the property the God of nature had entrusted them with, they gain the most supreme and superlative pleasure here, and lay up treasure at the right hand of God, which will be ready for their enjoyment, when they are taken from their earthly riches.

Many virtuous citizens, with their families who some years ago were comfortably, and commodiously situated,

While peace and plenty crown'd their cheerful board,

now, alas! are reduced to absolute want. And what enhances their wretchedness, is this: being possessed of susceptible imaginations, "they cannot dig; and to beg they are ashamed." What can they do? No employment can they procure, and consequently no resources; for when the wheels of commerce stop, ten thousands hands are immediately inactive, on which the support of helpless families depend. Their weeping infants with out-stretched arms, cling to their parent's breasts, and with plaintive voice and eloquence of eyes, they ask, but they ask in vain for bread. The busy neighbours, thoughtless of their wants, scarce know

ca wish to know, the suffering tenants of the neighboring house. The industrious father, conscious of this and previous of fortune, with whose veering gale this friendship flies away, petrified to see the approach of penury and rage, his very heart weeps blood, and anguish rends his breast; whichever he looks, a horrid gloom strikes his eyes, while his bosom is transfixed with unutterable agony; but alas! an ill-timed delicacy, prevails upon him to conceal his wants. He views the sons of dissipation, and the daughters of folly, cloyed with the abundance of that which his hapless children perish for the want of; and which they squander and dissipate on vanity and venality. For it is a well known fact, that the trimmings of the rich would cover the nakedness of the children of the poor.

He could with fortitude endure for his own part the bereavement of all earthly comforts; but to see a beloved wife, sick upon a bed of straw, with her starving children around her, at home, and at the same time to look abroad and see nothing but a frowning world, ungrateful friends, and the sons of pride now gilding their coaches, before they would give one dollar to save him and his family from starvation.—The dreadful contemplation is more than he can bear: he seeks refuge in suicide, and dies. His weeping, starving children sicken.—Reader, canst thou now endure the picture of their deaths?—

This is a dreadful description, but it is as true as it is tragical. Mercy forms a link in the chain of duties between man and all creation. There is no duty more powerfully and repeatedly inculcated in the sacred scriptures than mercy. There is no crime against which more signal vengeance is denounced than cruelty, the opposite of mercy.

We need not refer to the maledictions in the Bible against the want of mercy. The voice of God in the creation, and in our own hearts, will abundantly demonstrate the truth of that important passage in the gospel, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:" and that beautiful and awful parable of the unfeeling servant, will show the propriety of reversing the above quotation, *thus*, "Cursed are the cruel, for they shall *not* obtain mercy."

Is it not astonishing that the world should be filled with cruelty, violence, innocent blood, mountains of human car-

sage? and in short, be made a slaughter-house by man, who depends upon the mercy of God for the air he breathes, the bread he eats, the water he drinks, the clothes he wears, and every accommodation he enjoys. Sure I am, the unmerciful man is his own executioner, he annihilates both his intellectual and corporeal happiness; for the human mind is so constituted, that the tyrant is eternally punished by his own vicious cruelty, which corrodes the finer feelings, and will even eat out every germ of tranquillity. But on the other hand, the practice of benevolence produces in the mind the most exquisitely pleasurable sensations, infinitely superior to sensual gratifications; it illuminates the soul with the reconciled smiles of the divine majesty, as well as the sacred sunshine of an approving conscience.—Wherefore, O reader, if thou wouldst participate the pleasures of paradise, be merciful to every living creature, animal as well as human. And if thou desirest to anticipate the miseries of the damned in hell, only be cruel, unfeeling, unmerciful. In short, to bring the argument to a focus, mercy is the offspring of Heaven, but cruelty the most horrible inmate of hell.

"The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath. It is twice bless'd;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown.
His sceptre shows the force of the temporal power.
But mercy is above this scepter'd sway.
It is an attribute of God himself;
And earthly power doth then show likest God's,
When mercy seasons justice—we do pray for mercy;
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy. *Shakspeare.*

Thus, where true mercy reigns in the heart, it will be evidenced by corresponding works of benevolence. Tender mercy without benevolent actions, is as impossible as the sun to shine without giving light.

The most effectual way to find happiness for ourselves, is, by first endeavouring to promote it in others. And even to

do good in secret, is to render our reward more exquisitely sweet and transcendently glorious, as this would be imitating the munificent Creator, by concealing the benefactor and bestowing the benefit. This would be doing a generous deed in a generous way, by sparing the feelings of the unfortunate, who too often are intellectually wounded, while the hand of charity, with pompous parade, is extended to relieve their corporeal wants. Would the sons of avarice relinquish their golden god, and become the votaries of benevolence, they would soon regain tranquillity, and enjoy real peace. Then they would contemplate the folly, infatuation, and absurdity of their antecedent pursuits, and as a sailor recently snatched from a watery grave, and seated upon a rock, contemplates the imminent danger he has escaped, and is ready to stretch his hand to any of his comrades who may approach the rock whereon he is seated: so will they embrace every opportunity to snatch from impending ruin, the infatuated votaries of avarice and sensuality.

Would men forego the luxuries, and content themselves with the comforts of life, we would not see half so much human wretchedness in the world. The rich spend the wealth God entrusted to them for benevolent purposes, on the most foolish, frivolous, and often the most destructive trifles, without ever making any reservation for God and his poor. And while they thus rob the poor of their mite, they rob themselves also of their own happiness. For it is one of the regulations of that universal justice that governs the world, that excess shall be its own tormentor. The few, monopolize the wealth of the many, either by force or fraud; consequently one part are cloyed by abundance, and of course cannot enjoy it, while the other are destitute of the necessaries of life, and of course suffer for want of it. The rich cannot enjoy pleasure, because the attainment of it costs them no trouble; they never can enjoy what they possess, because they are always coveting more, and dissatisfied with what they have.

> Their wealth robs them of real pleasure—because,
> They are always outrunning their necessities:

of course disgust follows satiety, and debility, disease, and premature death, follow disgust. The perfume of a thousand

roses delights for the moment, but the thorn inflicts a pain which will last for hours. The sting of the bee is more painful, than the taste of honey is sweet. Thus this satiety and debility, produced by riches, give more pain than its sweet gives pleasure; and the rich by spending their wealth in vanity, not only rob the poor, but annihilate their own present and eternal happiness; which consists in mediocrity and benevolence. Yes, beneficence is the happiness of virtue, and no happiness on earth can be more certain, more secure, or more sacred.

But admitting, for the sake of illustration, that the rich man can enjoy real pleasure here, yet as life is uncertain, surely he must live in constant jeopardy; because he is in constant apprehension of losing his riches and happiness.

Does not God, as a just punishment, send rich men strong delusions, that they may believe a lie; and as they will not use their abundant riches for his glory and the good of his poor, are not they often so infatuated as to starve themselves in the midst of abundance. I know a man of property who goes like a beggar and lives upon the offals of the market, &c, and he has no family. I could point to the place, and mention the time when another penurious person killed himself to avoid coming to poverty; yet he died worth eighty thousand dollars, and had no family. Like the budding flower that keeps all its beauties concealed, and all its sweets locked up, are such niggardly wretches, whose aims are all turned inward, whose private interest is the centre of their designs, and the circumference of their actions. Thus, while some hoard up their wealth in iron chests, and like the dog in the manger, will neither enjoy it themselves nor let those in need partake of it: others with their riches, are sacrificing their health and reputation, corrupting their children, contaminating their neighbours, and shipwrecking their own souls, by their dissolute practices.

Notwithstanding the conviction I feel, that many of the aforesaid characters will view my arguments with the paralizing frown of neglect, yet I am encouraged with the confidence, that my labour of love will not be altogether in vain, but that some benevolent persons will view them with the eye of candour; and will both commiserate and mitigate the miseries of the poor, by organizing societies similar to the

one we are eulogizing. Then shall the blessings of the poor, and the approving smiles of heaven repay their liberality.

I appeal to the reader's common sense and common candour (whether a Christian or a philosophical unbeliever) for a confirmation of the truth and force of my argumentation. His conscience, I am persuaded, is in unison with the unerring prophet; experience whispers in reason's ear, that my assertions are true. If it is allowed that rich men are merely God's stewards in this world, I will contend that every wealthy man that hoards up his money, or spends it on vanity or sensuality, is a thief and a robber, because he robs God and the poor; but if they are independent of God, this argument falls to the ground. I know a man, whose service of gold and silver plate, amounts to 40,000 dollars; and do you suppose that he is happy, because he is so rich! He is, I am persuaded, farther from it than the most indigent wretch. With what sovereign contempt, mingled with pity, must God, and every benevolent man view this rich booby, seated in his palace; refusing his indignant fellow-travellers to the grave, the crumbs that fall from his table, or the offals which his dogs refuse to eat. "How dreadful must thy summons be, Oh death!" to such an unfeeling soul as this! The pride which springs spontaneously from this man's opulence, blinds his intellectual eyes and hardens his heart; of course the least loss, cross or privation wounds him; while the greatest enjoyments cease to please. He will not let experience teach him, that the enjoyments of repose must be purchased by fatigue, eating by hunger, drinking by thirst, and so on with every other enjoyment. Even if we wish to be beloved we must love; in short, real happiness is only to be obtained by benevolent privations and sacrifices: and this will give a relish to each enjoyment.—Every rich man possessed of a grain of common sense, must allow these to be stubborn facts: yet how few do we find who make any sacrifice, or suffer the least privation for the sake of relieving a poor brother? Yet no doubt they expect to go to heaven; which is to expect that the awful Judge on the day of final retribution, will tell a palpable lie to save them, which he must do if he applies the exhilarating invitation, "Come ye blessed, &c."

I do not solicit the benevolent to bestow their charity on common street beggars. The persons for whom I feel the

most sympathetic commisseration, would perish in their wretched retirement, sooner than expose their wretchedness before the public eye. The benevolent, in order to avoid imposition, might send their donations to such super-excellent institutions as the Hospitable Society, who would be their almoners.

A grateful sense of duty to the writer, requires me here to copy from the United States Gazette an exposure of the impolicy and cruelty of a late alteration in the Pennsylvania poor laws. This writer is the venerable Matthew Carey, whose late edition of his Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, a work of almost unparalleled research and authority, has like other excellent works, been appreciated in the inverse ratio of its merits.

THE AGE OF CHIVALRY REVIVED AT HARRISBURG.

The gallantry, politeness, and humanity of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, placed in full relief.

Some weeks since six hundred and seventeen ladies of Philadelphia, signed memorials to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, praying for a repeal of the clause in the Poor Law of this State, which prohibites out door relief, "except temporarily." They were sent to Mr. Tyson, one of the city members.

Mr. Tyson as chairman of a committee on the subject, had, at an early stage of the session—too early, it is believed, to have afforded time for due consideration—made an unfavourable report.

The only order, it is presumed, that was taken on those memorials, was to refer them to a committee, who might, without impropriety, be called a committee of oblivion. Be this as it may, the ladies and their memorials produced no effect whatever. This was not very chivalric.

Besides the memorials of the ladies, there were some hundreds of citizens who had signed memorials, stating the misery, wretchedness and degradation—the conversion of industrious women into street beggars—produced by the cruel, heartless clause in question.

But all was of no avail. The opinions of twelve gentlemen, guardians of the poor, outweighed all the rest.

Now, I venture to aver, that the opinion of one of these angels of mercy, the lady visiters of the poor, ought to have more weight in the decision of this question, than that, not merely of *twelve*, but *six times twelve* guardians of the poor.

The reason is obvious. The ladies in question sink into the cellars, and mount into the garrets, where the industrious women pine away a wretched existence on wages, which, in too many cases, will not procure them the common necessaries of life; and where the sorry pittance they were wont to receive from the guardians, tended to allay, in some degree, the revolting bitterness of the cruel fate, to which they are devoted by the constitution of society. These ladies can bear testimony to the hideous consequences of the prohibition.

But what is the case with the guardians of the poor? They have, *as guardians*, little intercourse with any of the poor but the inmates of the Alms House, from whom they appear to draw conclusions respecting the whole.

To show the horrors and abominations resulting from the clause in question, let it suffice to exhibit its operation in 1835, when the out-door relief was cut off.

The whole number of out-door paupers at that time was 549, of whom there were 154 between 60 and 70! 161 between 70 and 80! 60 between 80 and 90! 9 between 90 and 100!! and 6 beyond 100!!! I assume the number and ages the same as in 1830, and the difference cannot have been material.

There were 50 blind, 42 cripples, 31 labouring under rheumatism, 29 consumptive, 11 with sore legs, 11 paralytic, 10 lame, 6 with liver complaint, 5 with fits, 7 ruptured; others with king's evil, scrofula, asthma, dumbness, blindness, idiocy, phthisis, pleurisy, &c. See Hazard's Register, Vol. VI., page 366.

Among the number were 498 women!! of whom 406 were widows!! and 372 children!!

All these were turned adrift to beg or starve! as the guardians tell us, none of them went into the alms house.

By the recent English poor law, out-door relief is afforded to the infirm, and to all the poor without exception, above 60. By our *humane* system, if Methusalah was alive and here, he must starve or beg, or go into the alms house, where a moral classification is impracticable.

A strong and new objection to the obnoxious clause remains to be stated. The support of the poor falls with very unequal weight on our citizens. While the great mass pay no more than the amount of their poor tax, there are some who pay, in addition, 20, 30 and 40 dollars per annum. Nay, I could mention three citizens who paid last year about $400. A respectable lawyer in Walnut street assured me that he had in one day paid in this way twenty dollars.

The Guardians, in their long-winded manifesto of last year, boast of having saved $20,000 in that year. The saving was greatly exaggerated. But is there a man possessed of humanity, who does not execrate any saving at the expense of such masses of misery as it inflicted on the blind, and the lame, and the palsied, and the consumptive, and the superannuated, ready at 80, 90, and 100, to sink into the grave! It ought to be observed that had they gone into the alms house, they would have cost 106 cents a head per week; whereas, as out-door poor, they averaged but 46 3-4! Thus the system is calculated to sacrifice economy in an equal degree with the outrage it perpetrates on humanity.

It has been asserted by intelligent citizens, and indeed admitted by candid overseers and guardians of the poor, that the tendency of the office is to harden the heart. This is natural. The bold, the shameless, the hardened poor are are obtrusive, and force themselves on the notice of overseers and guardians: while the more deserving are retiring and modest, and require to be sought out, which they rarely are. The guardians, therefore, having little or no intercourse with the out-door poor, are, I repeat, the least qualified, *as guardians*, to decide on the point at issue. Is it not, therefore, monstrous and intolerable, that the decision of the twelve gentlemen above referred to, should have power to *veto* the wishes and opinions of 617 ladies, and hundreds of citizens, almost any twelve of whom are probably as competent to decide on the subject as they are!

Having tried in vain for above two years, by private letters and by different memorials, to have this foul stain obliterated from our code, I was determined to try the effect of personal application, and accordingly, in the late inclement season, at the age of 78, and extremely infirm in my limbs, I rode 110 miles to Harrisburg, over a road, part of which,

around the tunnel, is as bad and as dangerous as any road in the United States. I hoped to be able to convince our city and county members of the disastrous and pernicious consequences of the clause. I exhausted my whole stock of oratory on the subject. But Canute's commands to the roaring ocean were not more unavailing than my arguments.

I sign my name to this communication, as I do not wish to shun the responsibility of its publication, however unpopular it may be with the guardians and their friends, and the whole race of Malthusians. That it will excite great obloquy and hostility, I feel persuaded. Of course I am fully prepared for them. This is a tribute that all men, almost without exception have to pay, when they attempt to reform abuses which are upheld by or advantagous to, influential individuals—no matter how great the abuses, how small the sacrifice by the reformer, how few are interested against it. How then could I, an insulated being, expect to escape the forfeit.

March 29, 1838. M. Carey.

From another of our journals, I extract the following, to contrast the English poor laws, and out-door relief, with those of Pennsylvania.

The object of the reform of the poor laws in England, was, to free the nation from the enormous and intolerable burden under which it groaned, by the support of out-door *able bodied* poor, amounting probably to 4 or 500,000, on whom millions were annually expended. One of the earliest regulations of the new system was, to prohibit all relief to the "*able bodied* except in work-houses". This wise system diminished the numbers in some cases one-half, in others two-thirds.

But while they thus lopped off the abuses of the old system, they paid due attention to the indefeasible claims of infirmity, disease, and decrepitude, as will appear from the following humane extract from their last report, dated July, 1829.

"We take this opportunity to state, that in endeavouring to give effect to the intentions of the Legislature, we have on all occasions had especial regard to the cases of the *aged and infirm*. We have, as respects the whole class considered they are the last that should be subjected to any serious

inconvenience by the change. Our orders for the discontinuance of out-door relief relate mainly to the able-bodied; persons above sixty years of age, being specially exempted from the operation of the rule.'—Page 58.

"For the honor of our city and state, we deeply lament, that we look in vain in our code for any thing approaching to a trace of this humanity. As soon as the alms-house was completed, all out-door relief, '*except temporarily*,' was at once prohibited. No attention was paid to age, sex, condition, character, former standing in society, infirmity or decrepitude. The whole number was, at one sweep, struck off the list and reduced to beggary, or to the alms-house, to the latter of which the laudable pride of the decent and respectable portion of the poor offers an insuperable objection; as a moral classification has been found impractible—and the most respectable poor may have to consort, at table, with the most reprobate. Thus the ill-starred victims of poverty were driven to mendicity; for according to a statement of the guardian, *not one of them entered the alms-house.*

"The prohibition arose from some abuses committed by overseers of the poor in former times. But there is at present no danger of a recurrence of this misconduct; as there are respectable citizens appointed as visiters, whose duty it is to examine into the claims of applicants, and to reject the unworthy.

"Assuming, as is reasonable, that the number and ages of the out-door poor in 1835, were not essentially different from those of 1830—the date of the last enumeration—we proceed to state the facts of the case. Of the whole number, 549, there were no less than 492 women, who were generally reduced to poverty by the inadequacy of their wages. There were 406 widows. There were 396 persons above sixty years of age, that age which, in England, is privileged from being forced into a workhouse."

Some say that there is too much done for the poor already, while the Philadelphia coroner's official report for 1837, proves that 10 persons died with hunger and cold. I presented one of my works on charity to Mr. Morris, editor of the Pennsylvania Enquirer, who had the liberality to publish an extract in his journal (Jan. 28, 1838,) and also himself

make the following eloquent appeal. Would that all editors and clergymen would do likewise.

"Should the present severe weather continue for any considerable period of time, much suffering will no doubt be experienced by the indigent and afflicted. Indeed, we have heard of several cases of the most painful and heart-touching character within the last few days. The recent disastrous condition of business—the pressure—the suspension—and the bankruptcy that followed in their train, have doubtless impoverished and stricken down many, who, a year ago, bounded through life, buoyant with hope and elated with prosperity. In this class were the temperate, industrious, and economical. Indeed, so overwhelming was the ruin at one time, so sudden the reverses it produced, that few could have anticipated or provided against its calamities. Therefore, the shock is felt with the more poignancy, and it is the lofty in spirit and the upright in integrity, who, suffering under such circumstances, shrink from the public gaze, and endeavour to hide their penury and sorrow, in miserable retirement, and perhaps, hopeless seclusion. It is the duty of true charity—of that noble-hearted philanthropy which delights in doing good—to seek out such, administer to their wants and alleviate their woes. The bold and unblushing beggar, sturdy and hale in constitution, and impudent in deportment—requires no such scrutiny. He will take care of his own case, magnify his wants and exaggerate his story. But the timid, sensitive and truly worthy—the widow with her fair children just blushing into womanhood, and struggling to hide from the cold gaze of the world, all the anguish of their condition—the afflicted man of family, who for many weary months has been confined to a bed of sickness, and thus unable to earn by the sweat of his brow, wholesome subsistence for the beings who are dearer to him than life; the bankrupt trader, who, stripped of his all by harsh and heartless creditors, is compelled in the evening of his life, a crushed and prostrate man, to eke out a miserable existence and submit daily and hourly to some new and lacerating wound upon his natural respectability and pride.—These, and such as these, are the legitimate objects of Heaven-born Charity; and to administer to their comforts, must win more favour in the eye of Heaven,

than all the vain and ostentatious almsgivings that are intended for the eye of the world, or lauded by the lip of the world—and excite approbation only amongst the worldly; and even that, poor as it is, is bitterly alloyed with envy. We have often thought, when running our mind over the many affluent men in our community—that if a mode could be designated, by which they would be benefitted most, both here and hereafter, in the disposition of their wealth, it would be in the manner we have adverted to—going about and doing good in a private and unobtrusive way, exercising care only, that the objects should be deserving. How many widows, orphans, or honest and noble-hearted beings, depressed by adversity, might be rescued from hopelessness and despair—their eyes made bright and their hearts made glad, by the Christian-like course to which we have adverted. It is strange indeed, that so many go down to the grave, anxious to the last hour for the accumulation of more, and compelled at [illegible] crisis to part with their all, whose declining years might have been rendered heavenly by good deeds and their [illegible]riable recompense—had they exercised a proper spirit of charity, and delighted rather in relieving the wants and administering to the happiness of their deserving follow-creatures, than in hoarding up that, which, in the language of Solomon, maketh unto itself wings like an eagle, and fleeth away—for ever!

"A kind-hearted old philanthropist of this city, recently published a pamphlet which contains some excellent hints, and abounds with true [illegible]y. The following passage from the preface, makes allusion to the suffering poor of our own city:"

There is one class of poor in our southern suburbs, who suffer the most in severe weather, and are pitied the least, and I believe are often, if not always, passed unnoticed by our sons and sisters of charity. I would therefore, earnestly and affectionately implore the president and members of that excellent institution, "The American Moral Reform Society," and also the minister and rich members of St. Thomas's church, to establish a hospitable society for the exclusive spiritual and temporal relief and instruction of the above neglected and unpitied sufferers—one of whom perished for want, to my own certain knowledge two winters ago, my endeavours

to relieve him to the contrary notwithstanding, and no doubt many perish thus every severe winter.

If there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, how much more on the revival of the hospitable society, which may relieve the bodies, and convert the souls of thousands. There are perhaps 200 institutions in our city, to gratify the pride, avarice, sensuality, and selfishness of the rich. I know but two for the relief of the wretched poor in our suburbs, and their funds are deficient; because iniquity abounds, as Christ foretold, therefore the love of many waxeth cold.

It is yet in the power of Congress to obey God's golden rule, and do unto our injured black and red neighbours as we would wish them to do unto us on a change of conditions; or, in other words, like the British parliament, purchase the liberty and compensate the first, and pay the last the *full* value of the property and possessions we have or may compel them to evacuate.

Have our forefathers gone to their forefathers with wagon loads of cursed alcohol, while the words 'blessed gospel' were playing upon their lips, and murdered millions of them therewith, and then cheated them out of their land and peltry? have they exterminated a whole race of men from the face of the earth, a very small remnant excepted? and have we also in the sight of heaven and all the despots of Europe and the world, driven that wretched remnant from the homely, though happy possessions of their ancestors, and put them off with a paltry bonus, by way of remuneration? 'This the head chief of the Cherokee nation told a friend of mine, was a fact; and that the land we gave them was a swampy prairie. Is this the way the American government, in whom the destinies of Europe, of the world, and of posterity are involved, like a city placed upon a hill, which all eyes are beholding to see if our practice tally with our profession; is this the way we are 'A lesson to the oppressor and a pattern to the oppressed?' ☞Oh, shame, where is thy blush!

Rude Passions tear the Heart.

SOME CAUSES OF POPULAR POVERTY,

BY CORNELIUS C. BLACHLY.

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty."—*Solomon.*

[We cannot admit this essay of Dr. Blachly without inserting a few lines which are applicable to every part of this whole volume. The only possible mode under heaven, of establishing human rights and happiness, and averting human wrongs, is the equalization of power, that is, of property; and this can be done only by one possible mode, viz: fixing by constitution a *maximum*, or limited amount, beyond which no one can own capital under any pretence. After this *maximum* is reached, the individual should have the full power of distributing the surplus, but if he neglects, the law will distribute for him, as, for example, in the case of wills. This, and this only, will wrest the oppressive sceptre from the grasp of monopoly and aristocracy. Auxiliaries, as industry, economy, sobriety, moral physiology, will of course be needed, but that they are auxiliaries only, and ineffectual without this measure, to ensure a competency to the mass of mankind, they have too ample and constant evidence. The law assumes this principle in allowing each individual but one vote, and but one wife, or husband. The greatest amount might be eight or ten times what would be the average, (were property equally divided,) for each adult man and woman, and a smaller allowance for children in proportion to their ages. Many philosophers have advocated this measure and some nations have at times partially adopted it.]

"All public measures which are not strictly equitable, are destructive of the true end of civil government."—*J. Dilwin.*

The oppressions of the poor and the sighings of the needy, arise from a multiplicity of circumstances, and the following, among other causes, demand particular attention; because they have hitherto been too little noticed. They are these: 1st, Interests. 2d, Rents. 3d, Duties. 4th, Inheritances. 5th, Churches established by laws of men. I have here viewed them theoretically, practically, and scripturally.

Every evil disposition of the heart, and every erroneous principle of the mind, when brought into action, and confirmed into habit and custom, oppresses, and more or less destroys civil and religious light, liberty, happiness, and prosperity. Where is there a single perverse propensity, or erroneous principle of action, that has not led its votaries to the commission of every kind of sin against the Creator, and every kind of iniquity against the creature, which has groaned in bondage from the fall of man to the present day? The history of them would fill volumes, and each of them deserves one, to teach by examples and facts, how greatly error and vice ought to be feared and avoided. What oppressions, persecutions, and destruction of the human species, have been produced by ambition, by pride, by vanity, by resentment and anger, by false honour and glory, by covetousness, by luxury, by sexual lust, by drunkenness, by gaming, horse-racing, cock-fighting, bull-baiting, boxing, and other undue pleasures and pursuits, by fear of man, by erroneous hopes, by erroneous fears, by false principles in domestic, political, and religious matters. Pagans have oppressed the Jews and Christians; Christians, so called, have persecuted, and slain, Pagan, Jew, and Turk; Mahometans have trod in the same path; and the world has, for thousands of years, been an aceldama, a golgotha, a scene of slavery and tyranny, and a house of miserable lamentation and heart-rending afflictions.

The slave trade was lately esteemed to be judicious and and beneficial, because its principle, practice, and consequences, had not been duly investigated. Duelling and war are now under public consideration, and are likely to become as abhorrent as the trade in flesh and souls of human beings.

Without the art, labour, or ingenuity of its proprietor, the opulent owner must necessarily obtain his increase from those who do exercise art, labour and ingenuity, and he may, without any exercise, study, genius, or industry, continually receive the products of other people's exertions; and he will necessarily accumulate property, and this will necessarily increase his income, and also enable him to monopolize more, till he or his posterity are plunged into luxury, excess, extravagance, and abominable vices, that shall, like a whirlwind, scatter his golden feathers among others. By vices, are they dispersed, but by what virtues were they collected? That money *may* be gotten by honest industry is certain and undeniable; but it is as certain and undeniable, that millions are always drained from the industrious and frugal people, who therefore toil from imbecile youth to decrepid age, without being able to obtain riches, or competence for themselves.

If the wealth of nations proceeds from mental and corporeal industry, (which improve the bountiful materials of Nature, to which all her children are equally entitled,) those usages must be very unjust in their nature, which prevent the sober, frugal, and industrious poor from becoming easy in their outward circumstances. If the labour and diligence of the hand and head produce the riches and prosperity of civilized nations; should not every wise, just, and humane governor and legislator, encourage and recompense the artists, scientific men, and labourers, who enrich the nations? And if their industry and labours are the *sole* causes of the opulence of nations, either remotely or immediately, they are the sole persons who ought to increase in opulence. But by interest and rents, we see the luxurious, the lazy, the idle, the extravagant and injurious, who are cunning or lucky enough to keep within a vast income, bask in the sunshine of pleasures and vanities, adding houses to houses, and lands to lands, as mentioned in the prophet. If they who benefitted general society were the only persons rewarded for their diligence, ingenuity, and labour, industry would be rewarded and thrive; and indolence be punished by poverty. Thus, men in this, as well as in the next world, would be rewarded according to their *works*.

Rents of houses and lands, and interest of money, and income from property of any kind, for the principle is univer-

sal, are probably the effects of ancient usurpation, tyranny and conquest. An usurper, who subjects a nation of individuals under his authority, exacts, for himself and compeers, pecuniary assistance. He knows that money is as power, and that he must have it by force or contrivance.—Anciently, a conqueror considered the lives, liberty, and property of the vanquished, as his own. This was the spirit of the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, and conquered Europe. The lands became the property of the victorious, and the inhabitants were enslaved. Their lords, dukes, earls, barons, &c, therefore demanded fealty, homage, knights-fees, personal services and rents. The *Ceorls* (or distant peasants) paid the feudal lords all profits. The *villains* (or domestic peasants) were eye-slaves of the same lords. The *vassals* were their land tenants. The king was proprietor of all soil. Then an acre of land of the best kind sold for no more than four sheep. Such practices in Russia, and other realms, are not yet wholly abrogated nor ended: when custom sanctions what vice and usurpation forced into practice, then the iniquity appears from habit, proper and equitable. They fulfilled the 11th verse of the 49th Psalm. Read it.

Rights to property have been derived not only from compulsive power, but from Papal assumption. When Columbus discovered the new continent, the Pope claimed it as the lawful proprietor, (jure divino) by a divine right. How popes or kings can prove their divine rights by indubitable evidence, I leave to politicians and fanatics to make known, and enforce by compulsion and delusion. These may plunder Hindostan of her richos, the American aborigines of their lands, and rob Africa of her inhabitants, and enslave their descendants, and wipe away the iniquity of these acts by a divine right; which, as it proceeds from goodness and from God, must be good and godly. But if it is neither one or the other, it must be diabolical, and be derived from an opposite origin and power.

Kings, as well as popes, have claimed a similar title to things, by the right of *discovery!* By this right Spain. Portugal, Holland, &c, assumed dominion over various parts of America, New-Holland, South-Sea Islands, &c. Having power to enforce their assumed rights, the evil tree grew,

and the aboriginal occupants of the soil have, in various ways and instances, eaten the bitter fruits of their avarice and power, and were slaughtered in war and oppressed in peace. New-England, Virginia, and other places, felt the consequences of these usurpations. Though Pennsylvania was ceded by the crown of England to Wm. Penn, his enlightened conscience informed him, he ought to purchase the truer title of *occupancy* from the native possessors of the soil. He was, therefore, beloved by them, and enjoyed the territory in peace. He detested the policy and conduct of Cortes at Mexico, for his soul was united to God, who is wisdom, love, truth, justice, and benevolence.

My idea of title may be found in Moses' account of man's creation. Man, created a little lower than the angels, had *dominion* given to him, (not in his *individual*, but in his *aggregate* capacity,) over every living thing; whether animal or vegetable. If individuals usurp, what is the divine right only of the aggregate, they deprive *man*, (a term including all men and women,) of his rights and privileges, granted him in the beginning, by *God*, his creator, and the *sole* proprietor of angels, men, beasts, birds, fishes, serpents, insects, vegetables, minerals, lands, seas, air, and heaven. For his glory, we are told, they are and were created. All men should therefore, esteem themselves as deriving their titles from Him, for *general* use and benefit, and not for *individual* aggrandizement, and oppression of the multitude. And as Adam and Eve, and their children, were the first occupants, *occupancy* was the next title man had to the habitable earth. The improvement, use, and multiplication of the productions of the earth, seas, and air, by industry, art, and ingenuity, is a third fair and equitable title to the things of this world. I know of no other title to property, that is truly righteous and beneficial to the great family of the whole world. And if there is no other true right or righteous title, what must we think of the interest or increase of money, goods, houses, and lands, for the benefit, not of the *aggregate* association, nor the *occupant*, nor the artist, improver, and cultivator, but for the benefit of some opulent individual or family, who claim titles to more than they improve, occupy, use, and the cultivate, except by tenure and labour of others.

Interest for moveable property, rents for immoveable estates, the incomes of banking companies, and similar methods of increasing property out of all proportion to the cost, ingenuity, and labour connected with such things, ought to be deemed unjust, and injurious to the human family; but just and politic as far as they are connected with the public good, and private occupancy, labour, and improvement of the claimants.

Being unjust, and consequently pernicious, what has been the fact as well as the theory of these things? Rollin answers, in his ancient history, that those nations that allow the greatest interest are the soonest precipitated into the abyss of destruction. Where is there an older empire than that of China's three hundred millions of people! It is reputed to have stood from the days of Socrates, or Esdras, to the present day, which is above two thousand years. Yet China is said to have been, till laterly, opposed to usury or increase. "Usury," says M'Cartney, "is like gaming, a dishonourable mode of getting money!" Vices, in excess, are the rapid destruction of nations as well as individuals: but if national or individual unrighteousness are moderate, they are only moderately hurtful, yet all vices oppress, and each is a tyrant. Abundance of tyrants, vices, and oppressions are begotten by an abundant excess of riches in the hands of the few, who are thereby often rendered proud, haughty, luxurious, profligate, lustful and inhuman. Abundance of riches flow into the coffers of the opulent, from the hire of lands and houses, and from the interest, use, or usury of money.

The interest of £100,000 a year, at six per cent. is £6000 annually. If the rich gain and receive this, of whom do they extract this sum, if not from the industrious and poorer class, who give them this oppressive annual tax? This, however, is so concealed by its remote and complicated mode of action, that the indigent part of society don't know the harm of it, and therefore, never think of raising their voice against it. 1st. The borrower of money must pay his interest, and he must even profit by the loan; to profit by the loan he must oppress those he deals with. 2dly. And these again oppress others. Thus the oppression begins in the opulent drone, or slaves as the case may be, and descends from richer to poorer, regularly down, to the *most* needy class of society, who, oppressed to the utmost, starve, or toil

night and day, winter and summer, in foul and fair weather, year after year, till they drop exhausted, poor, and wretched, into the silent tomb, unless previously *slaughtered* by their severities. If a poor man gets by muscular labour £60, or the hundredth part of six thousand pounds annually, he has reason, in the present state of social law and custom, to bless God—and I trust he does as much as he who possesses ten thousand times as much, and receives annually a hundred times his wages, though wholly idle; or, if in trade, this *Dives* may be accumulating by it, from those who are ultimately needy, ten hundred times as much, or a great deal more.

Psalm 15.—"Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?" Answer.—"He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh truth in his heart. He that putteth not out his money to usury or increase, nor taketh reward against the innocent."

Note,—That *usury*, in Scripture language, as well as among Romans and Jews, meant the increase of goods or money; the interest, or the reward paid by the user to the owner. "*Usuræ usurarum*," was interest on interest, increase upon increase, or use upon use. *Usuræ quincunx*, was five per cent interest among the Latins. Among the Hebrews, God commanded by Moses, *Lev.* xxv, 36, &c. "Take no usury, or *increase*, (that is interest or rent) of thy poor brother; thou shalt not give him thy money on usury, nor lend him thy victuals for *increase*." By a statute of Henry VIII, "no person was permitted to lend any sum of money for any usury or *increase*, to be received *above* the sum lent, upon the pain of forfeiting the sum lent and the *increase*, with fine and imprisonment, at the king's pleasure." This may help to confirm the preceding ideas on interest and usury; and that usury formerly, and in Scripture meant *interest*.

G. N. Bleecker, comptroller of the treasury of New-York, mentions in his report of 1816, an oppressive interest to be paid by this city annually, to wit: The interest of 638,000 dollars, and of 167,345 dollars in bonds, which, at six per cent. is 48,230 dollars. Such an interest must produce a very impoverishing tax on common people, while it enriches the free-holders, &c. Riches in some always attend equal poverty in others. Hence the distress in England, Ireland, and the world.

If the true title to landed estate be, as I have stated, derived 1st, from God's gift, 2d, from occupancy, 3d, from improvement, then it is evident that rents of landed property, bear a close relation to money on interest. If a land claimer is esteemed proprietor of thousands of acres in our unsettled territories, or a great landholder of a number of farms, which he cannot work himself, by what good right does either claim title of such lands? I do not perceive, 1st, that God has given it to him more than to another; 2dly, to one who does not occupy it; or 3d, to one who cannot work it; in preference to an industrious man who can occupy and use it, and has no farm of his own to improve. To make this destitute and industrious man farm for the opulent one, appears to me extortionate and improper. What any man, however, has expended on any farm or house, or other thing, whose occupancy or improvement he chooses to relinquish, should be valued and paid to the person that relinquishes, by every person who thinks it his interest to occupy and continue to use and improve the farm. Hence we see the propriety of every proprietor and possessor of a house and lot in a town or city, being paid for it when he abandons it, or receiving a moderate sum, annually, till the house and improvement is paid for, but for no longer period of time. The payment of twelve years' rent was once the English price of *lands*; then a twenty years' tenant deserves what he has occupied and improved.

Money, goods, and lands, are intended to be used; and they who cannot occupy and use them, should let those hold and improve them who can and desire to. But the avaricious spirit of the world, which craves what justly belongs to others, will be opposed to such principles and practice, and object many plausible difficulties, that I cannot now attend to obviate and remove. I hope the humane will obviate them.

As far as the banking system is a system of putting out money on *interest*, it ought to be placed on the same basis of interests and rents. But as it goes still farther, and issues paper to several times the amount of the specie-stock, it becomes so many times the more unjust. The issue of paper, so as to circulate double the quantity of money that circulated in specie, before the issue of paper, depreciates the value of all monies one half. All persons beside bankers are thereby

materially injured; but bankers are as greatly benefited by doubling and trebling their stock of specie. The loss and gain between the bankers and the rest of the community is reciprocated inversely. What the first gains the latter loses. The more scarce money or goods are, the more valuable they are: and the contrary of the proposition is exactly as true. Before Spain possessed the silver mines of Potosi, money in Europe was scarce and valuable. In the commencement of the Christian æra, the price of a day's labour was a *penny*. The silver penny was 10 asses, or 132 mills, 13 of our cents. The widow's mite cast into the treasury was a mill and a half; yet it was *all her living*. In Alfred's days, A. D. 1000, money was very scarce; for an ox sold for two shillings and six-pence only. In the time of Henry I, A. D. 1113, the price of an ox was three shillings. In the time of Richard I, it had risen to five shillings. A sheep sold for ten-pence if the wool was fine, and six-pence if not so; but it should be noted that a pound sterling was a troy pound weight of silver. No banks existed at that time; and specie was scarce. Mines by actually and banks by nominally increasing monies, depreciated their value.

DUTIES AND TAXES.

Duties are another method of injuring and oppressing the poorer classes of the human family. Taxes should be proportioned to the estimated worth of every man's property. It is not right to tax the poor as much as the rich; which is, in effect done, by duties on the necessaries and conveniences of life. The lower grades of society, who use sugars, coffees, teas, cotton, linen and woolen cloths, &c, pay in duties, if they purchase these and similar articles, the same amount of taxes that the opulent pay for the purchase of the same necessaries and conveniences of life. They also pay the same taxes on books, cutlery, hardware, &c. If the farms of persons in common circumstances, and their horses, horn-cattle, sheep, &c, are taxed, though the farmer may be greatly in debt, by a recent purchase of them, while a wealthy man, who has his property in bonds, cash, notes, and mortgages, is not taxed; this is sure not a small injustice. A tax of a certain rate *per cent ad valorem*, a hundred on the actual value, would be just, open, and candid:—but duties, excises, and the

like, appear to be unjust, sly, and underhanded. It is taxing the commonalty without their knowledge. It is one way, among many others, of impoverishing the indigent labourers, who enrich the more informed and wealthy drones of the national hive. In a representative republic, like this, one would have thought that property would always have a proportional taxation.

If all duties, excises, taxes, and civil revenue ultimately fall on the consumer, agreeably to the doctrine of political economists, men are obliged now to pay revenue to government, not according to their ability and wealth, but according to their consumption of the articles of society. This is unjust; for the poor must eat, drink, and clothe themselves, or suffer.

INHERITANCES.

Though New-York, New-Jersey, and other states, divide intestates' property equally, yet Inheritances have usually been more confined to men than women; and to the first son in preference to all the others. They have also been more partial to the opulent, than to needy or worthy people. Justice seems to require a better law and custom than this feudal one.

If property is considered in respect to its origin, it is social and individual: being the result and fruits of social protection, policy, and assistance, or of individual care, wisdom, and industry. The civil united interest of society is one of the great sources of civilization, and of wealth and property. What could an unprotected individual do to acquire, preserve, or retain property, where no social government, civilization, and protection existed? The answer is not difficult, on comparing the wandering savage of the wilderness with a civilized and well-regulated nation; and by such a view we may perceive that society is the principal origin, and that to social union and wisdom we owe almost every thing; even every thing good or bad that distinguishes the civilized from the most destitute, solitary, degraded, and ignorant savages of any country. If we owe so much to social union, and if our individual all, comes from it, is not our individual all in a measure due to it? does it not belong to it?—and consequently to its disposal, as soon as death severs any individual of us from social rights and privileges? That society thus considers this matter is evident from its regulating the properties of

departed souls *defunct*; and how and by whom they may be willed and inherited.

The laws of inheritances are very different in different nations; as justice, ambition, whim, and selfishness dictated. In China, women inherit nothing. In England, the eldest son inherits the landed estate, in preference to all the other children. But the United States of North America, have disposed of inheritances more justly by a more equal and general partition of the *departed* soul's estate among his nearest relations; so that wills here are not so requisite as in many other nations.

Children have a natural right to so much of their parent's property, as their services have exceeded the care and expenses of their education and bringing up.

Suppose we were a nation of seven millions of inhabitants, and that each person, (if the whole property in the Union was equally divided,) would be entitled to a dividend worth 1,000 dollars; and suppose (of the men and women who are adult, and hold property,) one seventieth of the whole population, or 100,000 die annually, these would leave a property of one hundred millions of dollars and more. As about 100,000 young people might annually arrive to the legal state of inheriting, each of these, would be justly entitled, (according to this statement,) to about one thousand dollars, as their just inheritance. This portion is due to each, as a member of the whole family, of whom God should be the head, as he is the author and donor of every good thing we enjoy.

If the principle of justice be after this nature, the practice of every people ought to be in conformity to it. Nor is it impossible to do our duties; or man would be excusable, blameless, and guiltless before his maker. Towns might, in a corporate capacity, regulate the families within it: counties, superintend the concerns of towns; states oversee counties, and congress examine the reports, and see to the order, equity, and happiness of the whole national family.

If, some families by force, fraud, speculation, interest, duties and rents, and inheritances, acquire one or two hundred times this sum, as many as one or two hundred families must be without a pound sterling. No wonder, therefore, that Martin, who conducted an inquiry into the state of mendicity in Lon-

don, reported to the secretary of the realm, 15,398 beggars in that city, beside those in alms-houses, &c.

As but one-sixth of the families of Great Britain are found to be farmers, or 407,647 families, and 73 millions of acres are said to be in the island, improved and waste, the average of these acres, among the farmers, would be about 180 acres to each family. If some one has six times this amount, others must hold six times less than this average. Deduct more than a third for uncultivated and waste land, and each family will have less than 120 acres. They are supposed, by William Spence's calculation, to produce £120,000,000 sterling, annually; that is about £294 for the support, comfort, and prosperity of each family.

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS BY LAW.

The iniquitous oppression of these worldly law establishments, are felt principally on the old continen Jesus Christ declared to Pilate, that although he was a King, his kingdom was not of this world, else would his servants make use of carnal weapons. Are they, therefore, his servants, who establish Popish churches in one country, Greek churches in another, Lutheran churches in another, Episcopalian churches in another, &c, and support them by *carnal weapons* and *pecuniary* exactions? The Roman Catholics, since the establishment of papal powers, have murdered, according to the calculation of some, fifty millions of Protestants, whom they reputed heretics; and, by a moderate supposition, fifty times as many, or 2,500 millions suffered various kinds of persecution in person, and property, by fines, imprisonments, whippings, tortures, outlawry, &c. Mede reckons up one million two hundred thousand Vallences and Albigenses put even to death, by this persecuting worldly establishment. And what is said of this church establishment, may be said of every other one, in a greater or smaller degree.

Their *pecuniary* exactions and demands have been very unjust; and where injustice is, there is exactly the same degree of oppression and slavery. The annual revenue of one arch-bishop was affirmed to be seventy thousand pounds! France, before the revolution in 1791, contained by account 366,000 unmarried clergymen: and an *immense* number of nuns in a state of celibacy. Europe, before the Protestant

reformation, was supposed to have *some millions* of souls cloistered in monasteries. When William the conqueror of England, came from Normandy, he found about *one-third* of the land of England in the hands of the *clergy*. According to the royal census in Spain, 1801, about a fifteenth part of the male inhabitants, between the age 15 and 60 years, were clergymen. *Eighteen thousand clergymen*, are stated, by David Simpson, to be in England and Wales in his day. The income of the church of England and two universities is represented to be *one and a half millions* of pounds sterling. Twenty-six bishops are said to receive 92,000 pounds annually. The bishop of Derry received £15,000 annually, while rambling for 24 years through Europe.

Where law-establishments give to some much more than is due to them, it as necessarily takes as much from others, whose right and privilege herein is usurped and destroyed; and many of whom are suffering for food, clothing, and necessaries. This is lamentable. Tythes, according to Brand, are the great cause of Britain's distress. They, as well as taxes, are formed so as to be very oppressive to the poor, who have no jubilee now, as they formerly had among the Jews in the old dispensation, when their lost possessions returned to them; and under which dispensation they were to borrow money without increase or interest.

These are the five approbated systems of injustice and cruelty, on which I proposed to make a few brief remarks. The last might have been omitted, having drawn the attention of many already. Each of them oppress the poorer and laborious majority of *Christendom*, (so called,) as well as many other human inventions of cunning, avarice, and oppressive potency.

Without adding to this list, by a wide range in civil and ecclesiastical state policy, let us now mentally view some of the consequences on that class of the community, who are poor and needy, born to the inheritance of poverty, and to work hard; who are kept low, and die wretchedly, cut off by excessive exposures, fatigues, and the foul airs of unhealthy situations to which their necessities drive them, by the sword, by pestilence, and by famine. If a nation suffers in any respect, the poorer part of it always endures the greatest distress and portion of it; if famine exists, the *poor* only starve,

the rich buy at any price; if war, the poor must enlist to murder his fellow creature, who also enlists under the same circumstances, to kill those who never offended him. They are often obliged to enlist, or do nothing and starve, being thrown out of business by the commencement of hostilities: or if some of them have employment, and are drafted, they have not money to purchase their clearance, or pay one to go in their place.

If pestilential fevers occur in a city, it begins and rages mostly among the poor, confined and crowded into the most impure and unhealthy places, who reside in back-buildings where breezes can scarcely blow; and where the effluvia of *necessaries*, of many breaths, and of many families in these back-buildings, of small dimensions, and with small bed-rooms, *smell* worse in the morning to one from the fresh air, than any necessary house of retirement. These are the people who also die for us in unhealthy trades, mercurial and metallic mines, suffocating coal-pits, far under ground, and in sailing on the tempestuous seas, more for the demoralizing *luxuries*, than for the *necessities* of life. *Wretchedness and murder* have purchased us almost all we enjoy in this selfish, unfeeling, and misguided world.

All national religions, whether Pagan, Mahometan, or *Christian*, (so called) have been, and naturally must be tyrannies. Pagan Rome, according to Jerome, martyred or slew 1,820,000 people in the first centuries. Then Paganism was patronized by the authorities: as Mahometanism is in Turkey; Popery in one place, Episcopacy in another, and so on.

These are a few of the evils, afflictions, and deaths, attributable to interests, rents, duties, and unequal inheritances. The miseries are more than I am able to depicture. How many poor men know not what they shall eat, drink, or do the next day, or how soon their wives and children may be obliged to suffer from the husband's sickness, want of employ, or other calamity? His children's education, prosperity, and happiness, are as dear to him as the children of the opulent are to the rich man. And why, says he, must a poor, honest, and industrious man and his family suffer every way, and in every thing, while the opulent overreaching drone is blest from every quarter? Has God or man ordained

this! If God, what kind of a God is he? I have no hope on earth; and what, from such a God, can I hope for hereafter? Thus the opulent not only harden their own hearts, by their iniquitous conduct, but the hearts of the poor, whom they oppress, afflict, and murder, by disease, hardships, and poverty; and by war, pestilence, and famine. They, who afflict and murder others, are afflicted and murdered themselves, by luxurious idleness, luxury, and excess in eating, drinking, clothing, sleeping, and indulgences. Their morals, as well as their healths, are injured by vices flowing from contrary sources, which frequently terminate in the same things, and bear the same fruits. Luxury kills as well as poverty. "Gula occidit quam gladius, seu fames."

SOME EXAMPLES OF HUMAN MISERY.

The opulent who are generous to the indigent, deserve commendation for doing their *duty*; that is, for giving what is *due* to them, as brethren, as the sources of social wealth, and as sufferers. More than *one-fifteenth* of mankind, in some of the countries of Europe, are obliged, according to some estimates, to be supported at public cost! The Italians, French, Irish, and English, may be mentioned as instances of this. Fletcher says, one-fifteenth of the Scots are on the towns.

Dr. James Currie, (Med. Reports, chap. 20) states that "the population of Liverpool in 1801, was found to be equal to 80,759, of which 9,500 live *under ground* in cellars; and upwards of 9,000 in *back-buildings*, which in general have a very imperfect ventilation. In the new streets, on the south side of the town, a pernicious practice exists of building houses to be let to labourers, in small confined courts, which have a communication with the street by a narrow aperture, but no passage for the air through these openings."

How very unhealthy and uncomfortable this must be, is easily imagined; and some of the consequences are thus described by the Doctor. "Among the inhabitants of these cellars and back-buildings, the typhus fever is constantly present."

From the first of January, 1737 to 1797, the cases of fever alone, admitted on the books of the dispensatory, appear to have been 31,243, or about 3000 annually, out of 13,355—or nearly a fourth of the whole number received.

"This fever arises from a want of *cleanliness* and *ventilation*." Its influence is promoted by *fatigue, hunger, dampness*, and *sorrow*.

The Doctor declares, "that many of the poor in damp cellars do not taste animal food more than once a week."

Extend this account to all the cities of Europe, and the aggregate sufferings, sorrow, and destruction of the poor, will form a dreadful picture of immense size! The principal causes are interests, rents, &c.

"All the cretins, (says Dr. Reeves, who lately visited Switzerland, and examined very minutely into the causes of *cretinism*) appeared in adjoining houses, situated in a narrow corner of the valley, and built upon ledges of rocks. They were all of them in very filthy, very close, very hot, and miserable habitations." The cretins had "sickly complexions, a diminutive stature, coarse and prominent lips and eye-lids, wrinkled and pendulous jaws, loose and flabby muscles, and vacant and silly countenances. He therefore concludes, after much investigation, that the production of cretinism may be safely and fairly attributed to the evils attendant on poverty, to wit: bad air and bad food, the neglect of moral and religious education, &c." Med. Repos. Hexade 3d, vol. 1, p. 206.

Philip Thicknesse in his "Useful Hints," written from France, 1767, says—"At the prison called Maison-de-force, they have apartments wherein they confine *ideots*, and mad people. When the cells for the mad people are full, which is too frequently the case, the supernumeraries are chained in the court-yard, without any shelter; and, if they survive, are exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, in winter and summer. Who would not wish to see these wretches relieved? It is a national disgrace; it is a disgrace to humanity!"

"In the Hotel Dieu, it is no uncommon thing to see four, five, and six, nay, sometimes six or eight persons in one bed, *head and heels*, ill of different disorders, some dying, others actually dead."

"It is singular, but I believe it is a fact. 1st. That *one-fifth* of the children born in Paris, are sent to the foundling hospital: And 2dly, that one-third of the inhabitants in general, who die in Paris, die in an hospital."

"As to the tradesmen and common people in France, they are worse than I suspected them to be. For the most substantial will impose where they can, and the *petit monde* are in general down right cheats. Perhaps their extreme poverty is the occasion of the latter's knavery with them.' Dirt, ignorance, and boldness, without any sense of shame, universally prevail."

In the country, as "The revenues are *farmed* out to individuals, who are thereby empowered to oppress the industrious poor in every manner they can contrive: many of the poor who wish to keep a cow, durst not do it for fear of being thought rich, and consequently taxed higher."

Such instances of wretchedness, among all warlike nations bearing the name of civilized, show a radical defect of virtue, and a potent principle of vice, which, like the great tree seen by Nebuchadnezzar, covers the whole earth with baleful fruits and branches. And vices in the great beget iniquities in the poor.

The oppressive and premature labour of the youth of Great Britain, in some manufactories, produces lamentable consequences to these innocent young creatures, whose health and morals are corrupted and injured, if not ruined. In proof of this, Dr. Aikin writes thus:—"The invention and improvement of machines to shorten labour, have had a surprising influence to extend our trade, and call children for our cotton mills. In these (at Manchester) children of very tender age are employed: many of them are collected from the work-houses in London and Westminster, and transported in crowds, as apprentices to masters resident many hundred miles distant, where they serve, unknown, unprotected, and forgotten by those to whose care nature and the laws had consigned them. These poor children are usually confined too long to work in close rooms; and often during the whole night. The air they breathe is injurious, and but little attention is paid to their cleanliness. Frequent changes from a warm, and then to a cold and dense atmosphere, are predisposing causes to epidemic fevers and sickness. They are not generally strong to labour, or capable of pursuing any other branch of business, when the term of their apprenticeship expires. The females are wholly uninstructed in sewing, knitting, and other domestic affairs requisite to make

them notable and frugal housewives and mothers. The want of early religious instruction and example, and the numerous and indiscriminate associations in these buildings, are very unfavourable to their conduct in life."

It was stated in 1801, that 2,136,726 persons were employed in Great Britain in the manufactories, in trade and in handicraft-work: and many children's morals, health, and constitutions, are ruined in the manufactories.

Though the benevolence of some pious and humane people in London do much by way of alms and eleemosynary institutions, yet many times as much ought to be performed to relieve all the poor and needy. At an exhibition of charity children in St. Paul's Church, so called, A. D. 1815, it is said the number of 8,000, between 7 and 14 years of age assembled; none of whom belonged to the numberless private institutions of benevolence. It appears, from official authority, that more than 40,000 are instructed by the national society. May the spirit of love be extended!

Silk-mills, introduced into England, 1734, are very oppressive, and injure the children of the poor more than cotton mills. Their bodies and limbs are distorted by their premature and forced labours at such machines. Ten such mills were worked, A. D. 1774, in the single town of Derby, and produced in the labourers of them, the most abject poverty, dependence, and deformity. And Dr. Darwin asserts in his Zoönomia, that hundreds of the children of that town were starved into the scrophula, by reason of their unwholesome food, and either perished by that miserable and corroding disease or lived in a wretched state of debility. When one considers the great opulence and indigence of the members of society, to be produced essentially, and almost wholly by interests, rents, tythes, duties, taxes and inheritances, how wretched is he made by such views of the miseries of his fellow-creatures, and brethren in the flesh! Individual histories of such wretchedness exist every where, the narrative of whose sufferings is afflicting beyond description, and sufficient to soften the stoutest hearts, and most tyrannical dispositions.

By Bell's Weekly Messenger, of March 10, 1816, it appears that the burden of the farmers for rents and poor rates, is so intolerable, that all the farmers but one, in a parish of Huntingdonshire, had thrown up their farms. The poor

rates on a hundred pounds rent are about £50. If a farmer pays £150, annually, for rent, he pays £70 for the support of the poor of the parish. Curwen says the poor rates are at least 7 millions annually. In Ireland poor rates are not thus collected by tax, and the consequence is horrible! The poor perish by cold, hunger and want of necessaries.

Western, a member of parliament, speaking on the taxes, declared, "that whole parishes in Cambridgeshire, were now left as wild and desolate as any of the British colonies." And no wonder, when the labouring and productive class of the community, (so called) pay to the fund-holders and sinking fund, 44 millions of pounds sterling, or 206,460,000 dollars, and about 16 millions of pounds to the support of government, or more than 71 millions of dollars.

And then to read in an official letter laid before the house of Parliament, of an item of £6000, or 26,640 dollars, for the queen of England's riding for pleasure from London, 56 miles to Brighton, in 1817, and which sum, (more than our president's salary) was paid to her out of the treasury!

"A great woman's wealth is her strong city," while "the destruction of the poor is their poverty." "I considered," said the wise man, "*all* the oppressions that are done under the sun; and beheld the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter." "On the side also of their oppressors, was power, but they had no comforter!" Not only power, but law and custom have been on their side from the days of Nimrod, the mighty hunter of men and tyrant of Assyria, to the modern days of Bonaparte, a greater than Nimrod. Let the Assyrians and French, not Ninus nor Napoleon, be principally criminated for the vices their nations loved. The wicked world frame mischiefs by their laws and rejoice in their conduct. Who shall convince them of the folly of national iniquity? Nations, old in wickedness, will not be changed to holiness or virtue.

I conceive that the root of all national vices is blind selfishness; which, operating in conquerors and governors, has induced them to make potency the criterion of equity, and war and revenue the foundations of their thrones. The great ones are cemented to their monarchs and leaders, by their incomes, rents, interests, banks, or other contrivances and inventions, to deceive and oppress the little ones of the nation.

It has been observed, that the majority of clerks in the city of London are obliged, from sheer oppression, to be bachelors. And, according to Colquhoun, about 20,000 miserable individuals, of various classes and characters, rise every morning, without knowing how or by what means they are to be supported during the day, or where, in many cases, they can lodge the succeeding night. It is also calculated, that one-third of the population of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are *paupers*, who are broken down with labour and hardships, wretched and pitiable. A writer says, "That poverty and irresistible necessity to labour every day, dictates submission to the rich. That this irresistible necessity to labour; this long established and all pervading aristocracy of insolent wealth and rapacity, over merit in poverty, has made slaves, beggars, or dependants of one-half of the people of England, by grinding the multitudes subordinately engaged in its astonishing manufactories and extensive commerce, between them, as between two mill-stones. For whether the aristocracies consist of the proud *knee-distorting* master-*cutler* of Sheffield; of the proud *child-starving* master-*silk-throwers* of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Congleton, &c; or the more proud and potent first rate *merchants* of the city of London; their moral and physical effects on the human character, in producing slavery, poverty, and degradation on the one hand, and tyranny, opulence, and brutality on the other, are precisely the same."

Thus I have endeavoured to seek out and exemplify the chief causes of the wicked oppressions of men; and they are resolvable into a selfish love and indulgence of power, wealth, and pleasure, acquired and supported by the sword, and the law of interests, rents, unequal duties, taxes, and inheritances. May this testimony advance, and the Prince of Peace and Righteousness establish his temple of love over all nations.

SUCH THINGS ARE UNSCRIPTURAL AND IMPIOUS.

Since all these accumulated evils arise from injustice, from the oppression of the poor, and incomes of the opulent, or from interests, rents, duties, and unjust laws and customs, framed by the avaricious and ambitious, therefore it may be said, Psalm 10: "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord, why hidest thou thyself in times of trouble? The wicked in his

pride doth persecute the poor, and blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth. He lieth in wait in secret places, as a lion in his den; he lieth in wait to catch the poor. He doth catch the poor, whom he draweth in his net. He croucheth and humbleth himself, that the poor may fall by his strong ones. He hath said in his heart, God hath forgotten; he hideth his face; he will never see it. Arise, O Lord, lift up thy hand: break thou the arm of the wicked and evil man, seek out his wickedness till thou find none."

I really think, since God works by his saints and servants, that it is the duty of many of them to investigate the causes of the afflictions and sufferings of the poor and needy. It is the interest and duty of the rich and exalted to do it; for they suffer, and perhaps as greatly as those, whose labour and want enriches them. "Their sword," as says king David, Psalm xxxvii, 15, (which pierces the poor) "shall enter into their own heart." Besides, says he, (Psalm xli) "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble: the Lord will make his bed in sickness, &c."

Agur's prayer was very judicious, he was sensible that riches, as well as poverty, were very pernicious. Give me, said he, neither riches nor poverty; lest, being rich, proud, and full, I belie thee impiously, and say, "who is the Lord," and so become atheistical: or lest, being poor, I should steal, and lie, and then swear to it, taking the name of my God in vain.

Let the rich reflect that "wise men die, likewise the fool and brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others; that their inward thought is, that their houses (and demesnes) shall continue forever (in their lineal descendants); and their dwelling places to all generations. They call their lands after their own name." But the inspired Psalmist adds—"This their way is their FOLLY." See also Jeremiah, xvii, 11.

The kingdoms of this world are not the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, or the poor and fatherless; the afflicted and needy would be delivered out of the oppressive hand of the rich and powerful, and justice done to all, poor and wealthy, weak and potent, without respect to persons. At present, the powerful oppress the imbecile; and the cunning cheat the honest, and simple; therefore, no wonder if the

common folks cheat, steal, and counterfeit money. It may be said, in the words of David, Psalm 82: "All the foundations (political foundations) of the earth are out of course." They stand not on the sure foundation, the tried corner-stone, refused by all the political builders of governments. And by refusing and rejecting this, (the sure and right foundation,) they are all out of course, and are wicked, oppressive, unjust, and anti-christian. Alas! they know not, neither will they understand, unless more pains be taken to inform them, by the friends of God, and of an oppressed world. They believe not practically, that "he who oppresses the poor, reproaches his maker: but he who has mercy on them, honoureth the Lord;" that they who stop their ears at the cry of the poor, shall cry themselves (perhaps in everlasting wretchedness) and not be heard by the Creator; and that he who oppresses the poor to increase his riches, shall surely come to want; to a worse want and poverty, than that which can exist in this world. They know that "the rich ruleth over the poor;" they love this power over them, and reflect not on the wicked motive that fascinates them to rule out of the love of God and of his human family. They do not consider that "as roaring lions and raging bears, so are wicked rulers over the poor people."

Hence their family possessions and national dominions have passed away, and changed masters, from age to age, and from generation to generation. "The king that faithfully judgeth the poor, (is Christ,) his throne shall be established for ever." "Rob not the poor, because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the gate (of judicature); for the Lord will plead their cause, and SPOIL THE SOUL that spoiled them." And he will give the *riches* of them, "who by usury or by interest have increased their substance, to those who will pity the poor;" agreeably to Prov. xxviii, 8. Isa. x, 1. Jer. xxii. 13. The sins of Sodom are among us; even "*pride, fullness of bread, abundance of idleness,*" in the wealthy, who strengthen not the hand of the poor and needy; but "swallow them up" in their luxuries, &c. as the great fish eat up the small ones. "As the proud hate humility, so doth the rich abhor the poor." "The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor;" when "they decree unrighteous decrees," and "establish iniquity by the law;" when "they

build their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers by wrong;" when they use their neighbour's *service* without *sufficient wages*; when they "keep back their hire;" or when they make them pay more, in proportion to their property, than the opulent, in duties, taxes, navies, national services, and receive less than in their armies, navies, manufactories, &c, as soldiers, sailors, and workmen.

Things would not have been thus, if man had not fallen out of God; and these things will not be so when the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of Christ. In the commencement of the coming of the kingdom of Heaven upon earth, when God's will began among the first Christians to be done on earth as it is in Heaven, "all the believers were so united together in *love*, that they had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and distributed them to all, as every man had need." *Mine* and *thine*, ceased to be used among them. *Our*, or *the Lord's* property, was now used. Every one sought not his own, but his neighbour's good, and the benefit of the whole. To vary from this principle of benevolence was an awful crime, if we might judge the greatness of crimes by the awfulness of the punishment. Ananias and Sapphira were struck dead for lying, and keeping back part of the price of their property from the common stock. *Self*, in these two, was not wholly denied, nor the *cross* wholly taken up, nor *Jesus* only followed, or they would not have so loved their money, as to have coveted part of the price, and lied against the Holy Spirit that had moved them to put their wealth into a common stock. What an apostacy has succeeded this foretaste of the millennial kingdoms of Christ upon earth! when wars shall wholly subside, and oppression cease.

But wo! to the rich, before these days come. For thus James, the apostle, wrote: "weep and howl ye rich men for your miseries that shall come upon you. Ye have heaped up treasure for the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers, who have reaped down your fields, which you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

SOME REASONS FOR BENEFICENCE TO THE INDIGENT.

"Ye who have, should relieve the necessities of those who have not, for many reasons:—

"1st. Because opulence, unless it be used benevolently, and distributed annually in certain proportions to the necessitous, is generally found to be as injurious to the possessors of it, and to their descendants who inherit it, as the poverty of the indigent is to themselves, and to inheritors of their poverty. —A miserable consideration!

"2dly. Because you or your children may possibly need assistance, in the revolution of human events. Losses, crosses, ruin may arise from fire, and fifty other circumstances. Then they who have been merciful, will have a right to receive and expect it from God and man; and may perhaps receive it from the very persons they once relieved. —A happy reflection!

"3dly. Because the beneficent man who has lost, or been swindled out of all his riches, will find that all he has given away in deeds of compassion and benevolence, will appear to him as so much saved; as a treasure which moth cannot consume, nor thieves rob him of.—A delightful treasure!

"4thly. Because all you possess in riches, erudition, and person, is committed and given to you by human authority, or by God and his providence, that you as stewards of God and of society, should use them all for the promotion of the social and divine good of the great family of mankind. Money and goods bestowed on the needy, in a sense of duty to the giver of all good things, is exchanged for treasures which cannot be stolen, burnt, or lost in any possible manner. No man ought to esteem any thing his own; for a king is but a steward and servant, and accountable to the higher power of God and his country.

"5thly. Because God, who hath made all nations of one blood and brotherhood, says, that he is no respecter of persons, and that we should be like him. Innocent children, therefore, who are born of indigent parents, are as deserving by the law of nature, of inheriting their proportion of social property, as the innocent children who are born of opulent progenitors.

"6thly. Because of the injustice of social law in the present form of monopolies, which have respect to persons. And because of the injustice of the law in making and allowing interest on money, and rents on properties, to such an extreme amount, as to enable the opulent to revel in luxury, idleness and dissipation for ages, if they keep within their incomes; while by these means the indigent are kept so, enduring toil, nakedness, hunger and necessity, from tender youth to decrepid age.—And they have no jubilee.

"7thly. The seventh reason for being compassionate and charitable, is the external and divine honor, recompense and satisfaction a person receives by doing justice, duty, and good works.

To promote the foregoing humane views of Dr. Blachly, we may again notice as a useful means, the encouraging of benevolent societies. Some may say in excuse, "we can visit the sick ourselves without joining or aiding societies for that purpose." But on the same principle, all our banks, insurance and fire companies, and literary and wordly associations, might be abrogated. Since we are more likely to neglect philanthropy than self-interest, charitable institutions are more in need of support from the benevolent, than worldly ones by the prudent. The apostle recommends us to associate, and "provoke one another to good works."

In addition to regular societies, and the influence of the pulpit and the press, we must not omit among the modes of aiding the poor, the beneficent Ladies' Fairs, nor the mode I have often recommended, sometimes with success, of having our places of public amusement and resort, as theatres, museum, &c, give a *free* benefit for charitable uses.

PUBLIC DAYS.

On the occasion of the third centennial jubilee of the reformation by Luther (Oct. 31, 1817,) I published a pamphlet, from which are extracted the following remarks. They are applicable to all feasts and festivals, anniversaries, Christmases, New Year's-days, Easters, 4ths of July, Thanksgivings, &c, &c.

We should be truly thankful for the smallest ray of intellectual light, in a dark, degenerate age such as that undoubtedly was, when Martin Luther wrote against the extravagance and absurdity of priest-craft. In the present deplorable state of Christendom, humiliation and lamentation for our sins, alleviating the miseries of the poor, letting the oppressed go free, and supplicating the Divine Being for light, to see the cause, as we feel the effects of our present calamities, would be more consistent with reason and common sense, than rejoicing and festivity for the ray of celestial light which was reflected, through the instrumentality of Luther, at the reformation. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the reformed church, so called, has improved that ray of light, and increased it from miniature to magnitude, yet even then, whether they feasted or fasted, at their jubilee, should they not remember the sighing of the poor, who are literally perishing for want these distressing times? And is not the advice of the Prophet particularly applicable to them, viz:—"Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him: and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward."

Those who wish to see how the reformers have increased their ray of light have only to view, one moment, the lords spiritual, in their splendid palaces, or in the British parliament, arrayed in all the pomp of pride and venality. Behold them, cloyed with superabundant wealth, till they cannot enjoy it, while the poor whom they have fleeced, are absolutely perishing for want of the offals of their kitchens, and the trimmings of their wardrobes.

View on one hand, helpless old age, and starving infancy, with the millions of miserable paupers in Europe, perishing for want, (indeed half the population of the city of Dublin are such,) and on the other hand behold the thousands of Reverend and Right Reverend, Honorable and Right Honorable supporters of our moral corruptions, cloyed with superabundance, languishing through satiety, superannuated by sensuality and indolence, and absolutely dying of premature old age, the result not of starvation, but gluttony. I say, could my readers once behold this dreadful contrast, the fruit and effects of aristocracy and episcopacy, of which the above is but a mere glimpse, they would unanimously declare that I am too mild instead of being too severe, in my animadversions. The man who directly or indirectly supports these corruptions and usurpations, so fatal to human happiness, from perfectly opposite causes, though he may think himself the greatest saint, is the enemy of God, and the traitor and tyrant of mankind.

To love God with supreme, ardent, and disinterested affection, and to show that love, by corresponding benevolence, kindness, and tenderness to his creatures, human, animal, and insect, and to walk before him with humility; this, and this only, produces in the human mind true felicity, celestial light, divine tranquillity, and permanent peace. On the other hand, to love him, as millions do, for the sake of recompense, and with a selfish view to remuneration, and to prove the insincerity of this spurious love, by corresponding hypocrisy, deceit, and cruelty to his creatures; this is misery, darkness, and death profound, though the subjects of it should profess religion in meeting-houses verbally; in the streets, by the peculiarity of their apparel; in their houses, by the monotony of their phraseology; and should even leave this world, believing and professing themselves to be the favourites of

heaven. Such poor, short-sighted mortals may believe what they choose, yet the eternal truth is, and always will be immutable, viz: no man shall find true happiness in time or eternity, by promoting the misery of man, or of any living thing, or by refusing to alleviate it, when in his power so to do; or can find peace, by directly or indirectly, promoting his pain, by fraud or force, by public defamation, or private slander, or by neglecting to oppose or prevent the same, when in his power. Such negative or positive delinquents are certainly far from being sincere admirers of the sovereign beauty, who is delicate in love, and cannot endure a divided, and far, far, less a sinister and selfish heart. Surely this spirit of selfishness is as complete and as deleterious an idol in Christendom, as Juggernaut is in Hindostan; and with all our pride and profession, we are only a little less in the dark than they are.

Surely, if any thing can force the reluctant frown of heaven upon earth, it must be the sight of our jubilee religionists feasting themselves, without once pitying, much less feeding, their starving neighbours; and rejoicing for their superior light, without once even desiring to imitate the celebrators of the Jewish Jubilee, who always on such festivals, relieved the distressed, and let the oppressed go free. Their rejoicing, eating, drinking, and being merry, I find no fault with, if they would observe temperance; but, above all, be grateful to God for these blessings, and prove the same by their kindness to their suffering fellow-creatures.

With this philanthropic addition to their festivals, they will be pleasing to God, and all good men; for God is paid, when men gratefully receive his gifts—"*to enjoy is to obey.*" But unless this philanthropy is added to their festivity, it will be an insult to common sense, an outrage on common humanity, a burlesque on religion, a mortification to the sympathetic feelings of charitable men, and blasphemy against the benevolence of the most benevolent of all benevolent beings, great in goodness and good in greatness. I love all sects, and can circle them in one kind embrace, with a disinterested liberality. Those sects who believe and preach the divinity of our adorable Redeemer, have my decided preference. Such is the reformed Church, whose members I highly respect, some of whom are the best, the brightest, and bravest men in the

world. Yet I must contend, that if they celebrate their festivals, without remembering the wretchedness of starving old age, and perishing infancy, in these distressing and most deplorable times, it will be adding iniquity to transgression, and insult to injury.

I allow, there is a great deal of professed love to God, friendship to man, affection to women, and partiality to country, as well as professional religion, now in the Christian world. But where is the man who would prefer living in a dungeon with virtue, than to live in and possess a palace without it? Who would prefer living in poverty with his friend, in order to be near to comfort him, rather than live in grandeur without him? Who would esteem the beautiful girl that loves him, without the most distant hope of any but friendly intercourse, and protect and defend her innocence, though to the annihilation of his most sanguine passions? Who would, without making a popular profession of religion, re-act the part of the good Samaritan to his most deadly foe, without letting any body know it but God and his guardian angels.

How in the sight of God must appear our millions of religionists, who are eternally professing in their meetings, in the streets, and in their houses, by their dress, their dialect, their conversation, and the cant of their manners, that they possess the quintessence of virtue, I mean religion, without even practising common humanity to their suffering fellow-creatures, and to all of God's creatures, the suffering animals?

No crime do I so much detest as bigotry, or want of liberality, whether in a nation, a city, or an individual: and no crime is more unreasonable and inexcusable in the sight of God. For instance, suppose seven children, the offspring of one of our most enlightened fellow-citizens, were sent, while infants, to the following personages for tuition: the 1st, to the priests of the Grand Lama; the 2d, to the priests of Juggernaut; the 3d, to the priests of Mahomet; the 4th, to the Catholics; the 5th, to the Arminians; the 6th, to the Calvinists; and the 7th to Free-thinkers. When these children become men, with their characters formed according to the principles of their preceptors, (which would be most assuredly the case,) would it not be very wicked and ungenerous for them to dislike and despise and persecute each other,

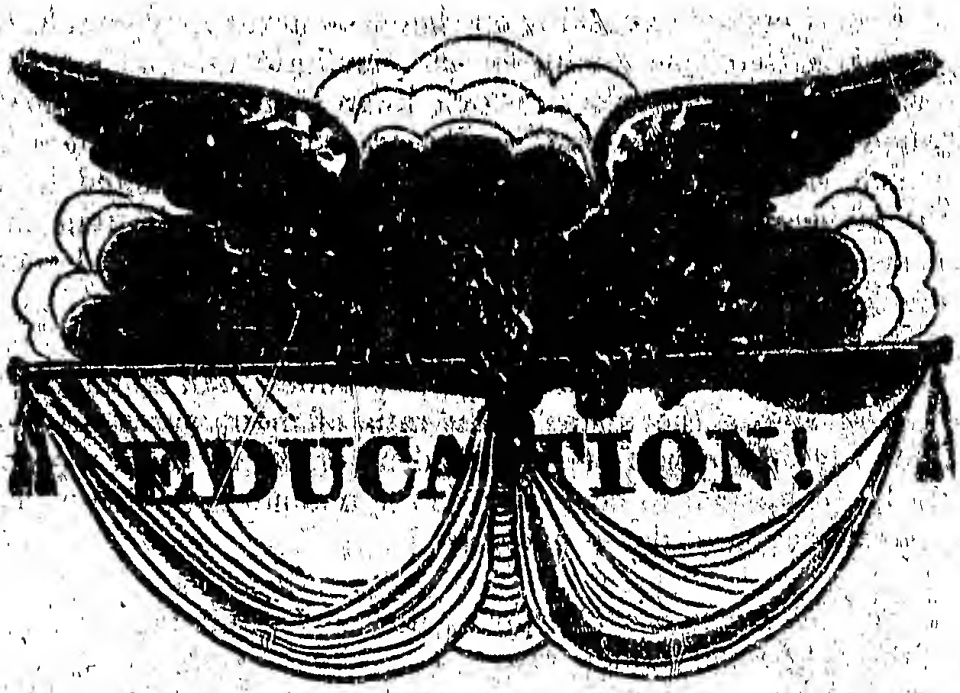
because they totally and unavoidably differed in religious sentiment?

Is it not unjust and cruel for our rulers supinely to behold our youth become worthless weeds for want of instruction, or corrupted by a faulty education, and then, forsooth, to punish them for bringing forth the fruit thereof, when it was in their power to remove the cause, and then the effects would cease?

Does not a spirit of cruelty metamorphose men to monsters? Is not ambition or vanity the bane of virgins and the bait of fools; in one word, the ruin of cities, states, and nations. Did not our blessed Redeemer well know what was calculated to promote the happiness of man, individually and collectively? And did he not inculcate charity and humility? Again, what is taught in our schools instead of humanity; 1st, in the sense of feeling—2nd, the sense of seeing—3d, the sense of hearing. I answer, cruelty. Does any savage, wild beast, or bird, thus teach its young ones? What is the second thing taught in schools, by the threat of punishment, and the promise of promotion, and a silver medal? Ambition, disguised under the harmless name of emulation.

The golden idol of Christendom, the spirit of selfishness, has its primary foundation in our present corrupt mode of education, the pedestal of which may very properly be called ambition. Contrast the extravagance of the few, in Christendom, with the indigence of the many, and the cruelty of the whole, particularly to innocent children and brutes. To make a child a thief, half starve him; a hypocrite, make and keep him miserable; a bigot, train him a sectarian: a tyrant is manufactured easiest of all—merely by flagellation. Let the parent at home, and the master in school, freely use the tongue and the whip as a punishment.

[It may be well, while on this subject, to insert a proposal for the thought, action, and benefit of the sovereign people.]



PROPOSITION.

1st. All the lands now belonging to the United States, and all the lands which may hereafter be acquired by the United States, shall be and remain a perpetual fund for the support of education. The proceeds of the sales of all such lands, after defraying the incidental expenses, shall be annually distributed among the several states and territories, according to the ratio of their representation, and shall by them respectively be invested, either in works of internal improvement, each state guarantying the legal interest, or in such other manner as the state may deem most secure and productive. The interest arising from said investments shall be invariably appropriated and applied to the support of the Common Schools, or a system of general education throughout each state.

§ 2. Of said interest or income, not more than one half shall be expended in the purchase of lots, the erecting and repairing of buildings, furniture, fuel, and other incidental or subsidiary objects; and the other half at least, shall be positively applied to the payment of teachers, purchase of books and apparatus, and to other direct and essential purposes of of general education.

§ 3. Lots not exceeding one hundred acres may be sold to actual settlers, on credit, for an indefinite time, at six per centum yearly interest; which interest and the principal, when paid, shall be paid to the treasuries of the states in which said lots are located, and the amount deducted from the dividend due such states (on account of land) from the general treasury; but when the amount shall exceed such dividend, the surplus shall be paid over.

§ 4. Until the tariff shall be reduced to the current expenses of government, the surplus revenues shall be annually divided among the states in the ratio of their representation, and at least one half of said dividend shall, by them respectively, be applied to education, in the manner specified in the second section of this proposition.]

The following pertinent quotations are from the writings of the celebrated Robert Owen.

"Reading and writing are merely instruments by which knowledge, either true or false, may be imparted; and when given to children are of little comparative value, unless they shall be also taught how to comprehend what is presented to their understanding, and to make a proper use of them.

"When a child receives a full and fair explanation of the objects and characters around him, and when he is also taught to reason correctly, so that he may learn to discover particular or general truths, and to discriminate between truth and falsehood; he will be much better instructed, although without the knowledge of one letter or figure, than those who are compelled to *believe* what it is impossible for them to comprehend, and whose reasoning faculties have been confounded or destroyed, by the violent distortion of reasoning, to purposes which reason can never reach, and which is most erroneously termed learning.

"It is readily acknowledged, however, that the manner of instructing children is of importance, and deserves all the attention which it has lately received, and that those who discover or introduce improvements which facilitate the acquirement of knowledge, are important benefactors to their fellow-creatures.

"Yet the *manner* of giving instruction is one thing, the *instruction* itself another, and no two objects can be more

distinct. The *worst* manner may be applied to give the *best* instruction. Were the real importance of both to be estimated by numbers, the *manner* of instruction may be computed as *one*, and the matter of instruction to *millions*; the first may be considered only as the *means*, the last as the *end* to be accomplished by those means.

"If, therefore, in a national system of education for the poor, it be desirable to adopt the best *manner*, it is surely so much the more desirable to adopt also the best *matter* of instruction.

"Either give the poor a rational and useful learning, or mock not their ignorance, their poverty, and their misery, by merely instructing them to become conscious of the extent of the degradation under which they exist. And, therefore, in pity to suffering humanity, either keep the poor, if *you now can*, in the state of the most abject ignorance, as the Africans were in the West Indies, as near as possible to the brute animal life, or at once determine to form them into rational beings, into useful and effectual members of the state.

"Were it possible, without national prejudice, to examine into the matter of instruction, which is now given in some of our boasted new systems of instruction for the poor, it would be found as wretched and stupifying as any thing that could be purposely devised to confound the understanding, and frustrate every effort of the intellect to exercise its power like a rational creature. In proof of this statement, enter any one of the schools denominated national, and request the teacher to show any of the acquirements of the children; and what is the kind of exercise they are called upon to exhibit. Is it what their faculties are best adapted to acquire or to comprehend? Is it any thing which, in their future course of life, can contribute to their support—to foster their industry, or inform their understandings? Unhappy disciples of blind authority, of systematized ignorance, fanaticism, and infatuation! The teacher questions children in matters of theology, on subjects upon which the most profound erudition cannot make a rational reply—upon which every day opinions are dividing, and sects splitting to more numerous and extravagant systems, which, at every new divergency, appears to take a bound more remote from the primitive simplicity and

natural humility which the most sublime of all subjects should inspire—yet the teacher proceeds as gravely with his interrogatories, as if the mere repetition of words was the comprehension of ideas or of facts. The children, too, answer—they answer readily in the very words that they have been previously exercised; and no parent can, it must be confessed, answer with more exactness, though it is also equally true that the *parent* and the *child* equally understand, and are equally competent to explain the lessons which they have been exercised in. This, surely, cannot be called education. It is a most crying mockery; and this mockery of learning is all that is required.

"Thus, the child whose natural faculty for comparing ideas, or whose rational powers shall be soonest destroyed, if at the same time he possesses a memory to retain incongruities without connection, will become what is termed the first scholar in the class; and three-fourths of the time which ought to be devoted to the acquirement of useful instruction, is really occupied in destroying the mental powers of those unfortunate children.

"To those who are accustomed attentively to notice the human countenance, from infancy to age, in the various classes and religious denominations of the British population, it is truly an instructive, although a peculiarly melancholy employment, to observe in the countenances of the poor children, in these schools, the evident expression of mental injury, derived from the well-intentioned, but most mistaken plan of their instruction.

"It is an important lesson, because it affords another and a recent and striking example, in addition to the millions of others, which all history and experience record, of the ease with which children may be taught to receive *any notions*, and thence acquire any habits, however contrary to their real happiness. Great abhorrence is excited by the late narratives of the rites and ceremonies performed at Juggernaut, in India; but are not the unfortunate people who partake in that worship taught, that those rites and ceremonies are not only right and proper, but laudable. Were they not, when their minds were first opening, instructed in this idolatry? and can they be blamed who, being so taught, and subjected to reproach or punishment or persecution through life, or to ban-

ishment from society, and without any chance of being received into any other society, if they should deny or dare to utter any other opinions than those which they have been taught—can they be blamed or hated when, under such a terrible and intolerant system, they do not entertain opinions concurring with other men and other nations, taught differently from them. They are objects, indeed, of pity and commiseration—but a little dispassionate consideration would teach us to say also, that *charity should begin at home*; for, with all our boasted intellectual light, we are only a little less in the dark than the worshippers of Juggernaut.

"To those trained to become truly conscientious in any of the diverse and innumerable opposite opinions which distract the world, this free exposure of the weakness and inconsistency in which such individuals have been instructed, may at first create feelings of dissatisfaction or displeasure, probably, in some, extremely fanatical, sensations of horror; and these sensations will be acute and poignant, possibly violent even to wrath, sufficient to kindle flames and construct racks; this will be proportioned, too, to the obvious and irresistible evidence on which the disclosure of those errors is founded. But it is, at the same time, satisfactory and consoling to know, that this intense subjection to the tyranny of forced opinion, and the cruel application of the education of the poor to the support of a particular sect, so as to become hostile to every other sect, has produced a lively feeling of apprehension, and produced a spirit of inquiry, which, though arising out of the prejudices of sects, or the spirit of sectarian opinion, has, as is usual in all inquiries once boldly and honestly undertaken, resulted in the development of truths and judgments which promise to produce the best effects on society at large, and to promote a more correct and general impression as to the established modes of education, and the errors which have prevailed as to the dominancy of partial instruction, in forming the early opinions and habits.

"If men will think calmly on those subjects; if they will re-examine their own minds, and the minds of all around them, they will soon become conscious of the absurdities and inconsistencies in which their forefathers have trained them. They will then abhor the errors by which they have been so long abused, and with an earnestness not to be resisted, they will

exert their utmost faculties to remove the cause of so much misery to man.

"Is it a different human nature which, by its own power, forms itself into a child of ignorance, of poverty, and of habits leading to crime and to punishment; or into a votary of faction, claiming distinctions from its folly and inconsistency? And is it some undefined, blind, unconscious process or power of human nature itself, distinct from instruction that forms the sentiments and habits of men of commerce, of agriculture, of law, of the church, army, and navy, or of the private and illegal depredator on society; or is that a different human nature which constitutes the societies of Jews, of Friends, and all the various religious denominations which have existed or which now exist?

"No! human nature, save the minute differences which are ever found in all compounds of the creation, is one and the same in all; it is, without exception, universally plastic, and by a contrary training, the infants of any class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class; even to believe and declare that conduct to be right and virtuous, and to die in its defence, which their parents had been taught to believe and say was wrong and vicious, and to oppose which, those parents would also have willingly sacrificed their lives.

"*Whence then* the foundation of your claims, ye advocates of superiority of the early prepossessions of your sect or party, in opposition to those taught to other men? Ignorance itself, at this day, might almost make it evident that one particle of merit is not due to you for not possessing those notions and habits which you now the most contemn, any more than you may claim merit for speaking the language to which you have been accustomed; and you might, with the same justice, condemn them to worldly reproach and eternal torments, for not speaking the same language you do, as for entertaining ideas, or opinions, or notions, different from yours. Ought you not, then, and will you not have charity for those who have been taught a different language or different sentiments and habits from yourselves? Let all men fairly investigate this subject for themselves; it well merits their most attentive examination; they will then discover that it is from the errors of corruption mis-

instructing the young mind, relative to the true cause of early prepossessions, that almost all the evils of life proceed.

"Whence, then, ye advocates for the merit and demerit of early impressions of opinion, do you derive your principles? How many of you have ever dared to think freely? How many of you have ever examined yourselves, and sought to know the foundation of your pretensions to disparage or to hate your fellow men, merely for being born in some other society, or taught by other teachers, or believing differently from what you believe?

"Let this system of misery be seen in all its deformity! It ought to be exposed; for the instruction which it inculcates, at the outset of forming human character, is destructive of that genuine charity, which can alone train man to be truly benevolent to all other men. The ideas of exclusive right in opinions, which are independent of physical evidence, that consequent superiority which men have hitherto been taught to attach to the early sentiments and habits in which they have been instructed, and in which, although there are ten thousand different classes, each disagreeing from every other, every one class assumes to itself the exclusive superiority in itself, and a general superiority, or worse in several degrees over all the others; these are the chief causes of disunion, hatred, envy, and uncharitableness throughout society; this is the true revolt of fallen angels against the God who has given man this earth to be to him a heaven, but which this baleful system converts into a place of sin and torment, and weeping, and wailing, and misery. Such a system, such notions, are in direct opposition to pure and undefiled religion, nor can they ever exist together; while one exists, man will continue to be miserable; to the great portion of the human race this earth must be a pandemonium. Remove this afflicting system, men will then not hate each other, and this earth will become a paradise—a fit place of preparation for an immortality worthy of the Creator of all things.

"The extent of the misery which is generated by the prevailing system, cannot however be always concealed; the eyes of mankind are already cleansed from the dark film which obscured their mental vision; and imposition of every kind is hastening fast to the same grave in which so many

errors have been buried during the last four centuries; every age may seem to be only a step, but the steps must become strides and augment their pace on every succession like the law of gravitation; this gross system of ignorance, on which the system of misery has been raised, is unveiled; it stands exposed to the world on its proper foundation; and so exposed, its supporters must shrink from the task of vindicating the misery of man, as necessary to the glory of a beneficent and ineffable God; the weapons of terror no longer appear formidable, and although the followers of those who suffered, and whose sufferings overthrew the pile and the torture, and cast broad open the dungeons of a devilish system, have travelled into the same path, and restored to the engines of fear, without hope and pains, without limitation of time; each has become still less wicked; though there are who would still renew all that was most foul and afflicting, to maintain their worldly power and their worldly avarice; but no rational mind will now be found to give such a system support; and the most hardened and cruel are forced to relent or to dissemble and affect, if they do not feel goodness, and charity, and love of all men.

"Having exhibited the errors on which ignorance has erected the systems by which man has been governed, or compelled to become irrational and miserable; and having laid an immoveable foundation for a system devoid of that error, and which, clearly comprehended, and adopted in practice, must train mankind to think and act towards others, as they would wish others to think and act towards them: we proceed further to explain this system without error, and which may be termed a system without mystery.

"As then children collectively may be formed into any characters, by whom ought their characters to be formed?

"The kind and degree of misery or happiness experienced by the members of the community, depend on the characters which have been formed in the individuals which compose the community. It becomes then the highest interest, and consequently the first and most important duty of every state, to form the individual characters of which the state is composed. And if any characters, from the most ignorant and miserable, to the most rational and happy, can be formed, it surely merits the deepest attention of every state to adopt

those obvious means by which the formation of the latter may be secured, and that of the former prevented.

"It follows, that every state, in order to be well governed, ought to direct its chief attention to the formation of character; and that the best governed state will be that which shall possess the best national system of education.

"And, under the guidance of minds competent to its direction, a national system of training and education may be formed, to become the most safe, easy, effectual, and economical instrument of government that can be devised. And it may be made to possess a power equal to the accomplishment of the most grand and beneficial purposes.

"It is, however, by instruction only, that the population of the world can be made conscious of the irrational state in which they now exist, and until that instruction is given, it is premature to introduce a national system of education, although it will be the duty of every community, great or small, to adopt and pursue such means as may prepare the minds of men for the adoption, by continually pressing upon the minds of persons of all ages, and particularly the young of both sexes, the comfort derived from promoting the good of others.

"But to whom can such arrangements be submitted? Who is he that is so much above the passions of the world as to be a fit judge?—Melancholy indeed is the reflection! But it must not be spoken to the prejudices of the conspiring bodies of men, who, while they are taught to hate each other, are also organized to keep mankind clasped under mental and moral subjection—degraded by being taught to shut their eyes against the light of reason, and grope through darkness with their eyes open—they must be spoken to—they must be confronted by truth; the system that every where bears down man in degradation must be exposed—it must be judged.

"But shall the commercial character be the judge, in whose estimation to forsake the path of immediate individual gain, would be to show symptoms of a disordered imagination? For the children of commerce have been trained to direct all their faculties to buy cheap and sell dear; and consequently, those who are the most expert and successful in this wise and noble art, are, in the commercial world, deemed to possess foresight and superior acquirements, while such as attempt

to improve the natural habits, and increase the comforts of those whom they employ, are termed wild enthusiasts.

"Nor yet are they to be submitted to the mere men of law: for they are necessarily trained to endeavor to make wrong appear right, or involve both in a train of intricacies, and to legalize injustice.

"Nor to the mere leaders of political parties, or their partizans, for they are embarrassed by the trammels of party, which mislead the judgment, and often constrain them to sacrifice the real well-being of the community and of themselves to an apparent, but most mistaken self-interest.

"Nor to those who are termed heroes and conquerors, or their followers; for their minds have been trained to consider the infliction of human misery and the commission of military murders a glorious duty, and almost beyond reward.

"Nor yet to the fashionable or splendid in the eyes of the world; for these are, from their infancy, trained to deceive and be deceived; to accept shadows for substances; and to live a life of insincerity, and consequent discontent and misery.

"And still less are they to be exclusively submitted to the professional expounders and defenders of the various opposing religious systems throughout the world; between whom and the heroes it will not be easy to decide which has produced the greatest misery to mankind: for how many thousands of these are actively engaged in propagating the notions of phrenzy and the raving of minds disordered among mankind; spreading abroad hatred of all who are educated contrary to their particular notions; defacing and deforming the charms of creation, by substituting terror and misery for the happiness and hope which ought to cheer and delight life; who seek to bind man in misery, in order to make him dependant on those who, however they affect to conceal the idea, in effect assert the doctrine, that through each of them alone is future happiness to be obtained.

"Nor should it ever be lost sight of to inculcate this truth equally on the rich, that they may not forget themselves, and on the poor, that they may not forget what is due to them by society; that, as all wealth owes its source, its supply, and its continuance of value to human labor; without that labor there would be neither subsistence, nor comfort, nor society itself. Men would be no better than savages in a soil uncul-

tivated; and arts and sciences themselves must be extinct, if the hand of labor did not support them, by providing those riches which produce the activity of commerce, and the circulation of wealth and prosperity in all nations. The far greater part of the population of this and of every other country belong to, or have risen from the laboring classes, and by them the happiness and comforts of those who are independent of personal labor, not excluding the very highest, are essentially influenced. This requires to be more particularly enforced, because it goes to resist a very pernicious practice in all families, rich and poor, that of depreciating the industrious and laboring people, as an inferior class of beings; which is especially the case in families which keep servants, who are too generally permitted to form the character of children. This evil has deeper effects and more mischievous consequences than may be supposed by those who are not accustomed to trace effects back to their causes, with due attention in the progress of the mind from infancy to youth. It is indeed impossible that children, in any situation, can be correctly trained, unless those who surround them from infancy are previously well instructed; mothers who nurse their own children, and watch their mind's growth, are always rewarded in the health and habits of them; those who entrust them to nurses, independent of the insensibility and loss of felicity to the mother, she must be fortunate who happens on a nurse of the necessary temper, health, and habits, and adapted to give the first happy impressions to infancy; and the value of good servants to those who have experienced the difference between good and bad, can be duly appreciated, and the effects upon children easily estimated.

"Let any man of reflection examine for himself these questions:—Of what benefit is it to the moral good of men well or ill informed, but more particularly the latter, to engage in enforcing speculative tenets, upon which the learned have not come to an agreement, but upon the disputes concerning which the greatest afflictions are produced!—and what would be the effect on the happiness of mankind, if instead of fighting about metaphysical subjects, the mass of society was taught to regard practical morality, and that divine sentiment which calls upon all men to do towards others, as they wish others

to do towards them? Would not society profit by this change of practice?

"The only certain criterion of truth is its agreement or constant consistency with itself: it remains one and the same under every view and comparison of it which can be made; while error cannot stand the test of such investigation and comparison, because it ever leads to absurd conclusions.

"Those whose minds are equal to the subject, will, ere this, have discovered that the principles in which mankind have been hitherto instructed, and by which they have been governed, will not bear the test of this criterion. Investigate and compare them: they betray absurdity, folly, and weakness; hence the infinity of jarring opinions, dissensions, and miseries, which have hitherto existed.

"The criterion, however, which has been stated, shows that all sects, without exception, are in part inconsistent with the works of nature, that is, with the facts which the great Author of the Universe has established around us. These systems, one and all, must therefore contain some fundamental errors, and it is an utter impossibility that man can become rational, or enjoy happiness which otherwise his nature is capable of attaining, until those errors shall have been exposed and annihilated.

"The truth which the several systems possess, serves to cover and perpetuate the errors with which artifice has associated and connected them—but those errors are most obvious to all such as have not, from infancy, been taught to receive them; and wherever they spread will be subject to the influence of other notions, which have been in existence antecedently to their being offered to attention.

"In proof of this, ask in succession those who are esteemed the most intelligent and enlightened of every sect and party, what is their opinion of every other sect and party throughout the world. Is it not evident that, without one exception, the answer of each will be, that they all contain errors so clearly in opposition to reason and equity, that he can feel only pity and deep commiseration for the individuals whose minds have been thus perverted and rendered irrational? And this reply they will make, unconscious that they themselves are of the number whom they commiserate.

"The doctrines which have been taught to every known

sect, combined with the external circumstances, by which they have been surrounded, have been directly calculated, and could not fail to produce the characters which ... existed; and the doctrines in which the inhabitants of ... world are now instructed, combined with external circumstances by which they are surrounded, form the characters which at present pervade society, and must continue so to do, as long as the interests of sects continue to be preferred to the good of the species; and there are classes of men who derive all their power, from the influence which this pernicious spirit secures to them, at the expense of human happiness and the distractions of the whole earth.

"The dogmatic or exclusive doctrines which have been, and which are now taught throughout the world, must necessarily create and perpetuate a total want of charity among men. They disunite nations, they disunite states within themselves; they have desolated whole regions, and extirpated nations; they maintain a perpetual feud, wherever they obtain any predominancy; they destroy happiness, and produce enmities, and hatreds, and afflictions in families; they separate neighbors, and cause the inhabitants of the same tenement, each to consider the other in a state of abhorrence and execration; they generate superstition, bigotry, hypocrisy, hatred, revenge, wars, and all their evil consequences. For it has been, and continues to be, a fundamental principle in every sect or system hitherto taught, with exceptions more nominal than real;—'That man will possess merit and receive an eternal reward by believing the doctrines of that peculiar system, which each several teacher dictates; that whoever disbelieves them will be eternally punished for that disbelief—that all those countless millions, who throughout all former time, have not been taught to believe those tenets, known only to later ages or to modern times, must be doomed to eternal misery.'"

The liberal, benevolent, and intelligent reader, will see in these strictures of Mr. Owen, many precious truths, well worthy his most serious investigation; but bigoted, supercilious, and prejudiced pedants, however learned and eloquent, will see nothing but deformity therein, because their own characters are slightly exhibited.

FROM THE "INTELLECTUAL TELESCOPE."

When I consider the great ignorance of many persons, who are naturally susceptible of improvement, but who, alas! live and die ignoramuses, because they will not use the opportunities to gain information, which providence has put in their power; when I consider the little superiority in some of the human, over some of the brute creation, for want of intellectual cultivation, I am jealous for the honor of human nature.

Some time ago I visited a man in his sickness, who scarcely knew he had a soul, although he had spent sixty-five revolving years on this terrestrial ball.

Even those who are the professors of religion, are often so extremely ignorant of the wonderful works of God, exhibited in the book of creation, that they form in their puerile minds the most dishonorable notions of the "GREAT FIRST CAUSE." A pious man once declared to me with the utmost solemnity, that the Almighty appeared to him in the shape of a Quaker, and taught him the Lord's prayer.

Many such intellectual abuses have I witnessed in the votaries of religion, owing, principally, to the wrong association of ideas relative to the Supreme Being and his amazing architecture. No class of men have better opportunities of improving their intellectual powers, by investigating the book of creation, than farmers and mariners. Yet, alas! none neglect this divine employment more than they, who of course forego one of the most useful, as well as pleasurable entertainments, of which the human mind is capable. Education should call the attention of all descriptions of people, especially the votaries of agriculture and navigation, to the solemn, delightful, and profitable investigation of the book of Nature.

The great Creator, to use scriptural language, *is a jealous God.* Hence, those who neglect him and his works are, (and I would add, ought to be,) lightly esteemed. I would ask, who neglect their immortal interest, as well as intellectual cultivation, more than mariners unhappily do?—None. No set of men are exposed to more dangers, and at the same

time are less sensible of them, and less prepared to meet them, than mariners. And I would add, no set of men are more useful to certain communities, and at the same time less respected, than this class of people. Is not this the radical cause why many of them are both extremely ignorant and wicked? Is it not, therefore, of importance and utility, to prepare and publish productions which obviously tend both to reform their hearts and inform their heads?

As I have been a mariner myself, in my youth, till I was nineteen years of age, I feel particularly solicitous to be useful to that class of people, because I well know, and that by sad experience, that they too often need the kind admonitions of a friend. I would here address a thought that strikes my mind in a particular manner, to the supreme and subordinate naval officers, who may happen to peruse this work, relative to the extreme danger to which they expose themselves by acting with too much severity to their sailors. In order to ascertain the delicacy and danger of their situations in such cases, let them only ask their own hearts what vengeance would be boiling in their veins, if they were beaten and abused by any person clothed with a little brief authority. When I recollect the petulance and perverseness of many captains, manifested to their sailors when at sea, I am surprised that more mutinies do not result from such tyrannical conduct than really do take place. Is it not better policy (not to say any thing of rectitude) for commanders to win the affections of their sailors, rather than inspire them with hatred for their persons, and a spirit of revenge. How often has the caprice and inhumanity of captains and their subordinate officers caused their men to rise upon them, and sacrifice their lives to appease their fury. Thus we see such injudicious persons anticipate their own doom by their cruelty, and are ushered into the presence of an offended God, to account for their oppressive conduct. You, who are men of irritable tempers, take warning by their destruction to avoid their oppressive conduct; for, be assured, the same causes will produce the same effects.

As I have been greatly benefited by viewing the glorious works of God, displayed in the starry heavens; I, therefore, would earnestly recommend my readers, whether landsmen or seamen, to turn their attention, some of their leisure mo-

ments, to the investigation of this solemn and sublime subject; it will, I am confident, have the most salutary effect on the mind of every rational thinking man.

As I conceived the lessons in the book of Nature to be irresistible, energetic, and not to be confuted; and consequently, most calculated to convince tyrants of the iniquity of their conduct, the disapprobation of heaven, and the dissimilarity between their works and those of their Creator; I have, therefore, endeavored to exhibit a specimen of the munificence of Jehovah, depicted in all his works, in hopes that it will have a tendency to make oppressors blush, forego their crimes, and no more insult their Creator, by destroying his creatures, the noblest works of his almighty hands.

Can we, day after day, behold the light, and feel the exhilarating influence of the sun, and partake of the benefactions of the Parent of Good, who circles nature in one kind embrace, and yet oppress, murder, and destroy the noblest works of this great, good, and glorious Being, instead of reverencing, obeying, imitating, and loving him? Inexcusable, criminal, shameful ingratitude! Does the sun proclaim his goodness and perfections, and can we, dare we, both literally and virtually, insult him to his face?

Concerning the sun, mankind have entertained the most extravagant ideas. By one part of the human race this luminary has been advanced to the rank of a god, and had divine honors paid to it; by another it has been debased as low as hell, and supposed to be the place of infernal misery; but this is only one instance, out of millions, in which "men have become vain in their imagination, and, professing themselves to be wise, have become fools."

An account of the sanguinary wars, both of ancient and modern times, is not only horrible to the philanthropist, but also destructive to the sympathetic feelings of the juvenile scholar. I firmly believe that the primary cause why so many young men have an ardent, and, apparently, a hereditary desire to enter the army, is, because their parents put the historical writings of ancient warriors in their hands, at that period of life when their imaginations were most susceptible of impression; than which, a more imprudent thing can scarcely be. By this means, children are habituated to the most shocking scenes of barbarity and warfare; and, seeing

the victor, (though reeking with the blood of his fellow mortals,) crowned with garlands, and applauded with the united gratulations of the wondering, ignorant and cheated multitude; they of course, feel the most invincible ambition to emulate the victories and vices of such sanguinary mortals. Were the people of America so happy as never to have seen or heard of a battle, by sea or land, till the famous battle of Waterloo; how would the intelligence of that dreadful battle have caused our eyes to stream with sympathetic tears, and transfixed our recoiling hearts with unutterable agony. But alas! because we are so habituated to such accounts, we now hear of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of our poor unhappy fellow sinners, scarcely feeling a particle of tender emotion, or philanthropic regret. It is a lamentable fact, that there has been on an average near four bloody battles fought every year since the French revolution by the contending powers of Christendom. Alas! human nature, how art thou brutalized!! How art thou degraded!!! Who can, without horror, view this earth, metamorphosed into a slaughter-house by ambitious men. The verdant fields are heaped with carnage, the silver waves of the ocean are tinged with human blood. Beings endued with intelligence, and created for high beatitude, so far prostitute and pervert their glorious qualifications as to constitute them the auxiliaries of evil, the ministers of wo, instead of the friendly guardians of their fellow mortals. Nations and individuals, in power, pursue without pity or natural affection, their weak neighbors, and tear every enjoyment, even life itself from them.

Good and evil are placed before us by the sovereign of the universe; if we choose the good we will reap the benefit even in this life. But if we choose the evil, tribulation and anguish will undoubtedly be our portion here and hereafter.

Even the philosophical unbeliever must allow, *that* the strong are continually tearing every enjoyment, and even life itself from the weak; *that* of all animals on the face of the earth man is the weakest, the wickedest, and most wretched; *that* all brutes are exempted from the fears of death, but not so with man. He wishes to live but is forced to die; the thoughts of which imbitter every transitory sweet, and make him die in anticipation, even while he lives. Yet, alas! all these mountains of misery by which man finds himself envi-

roned will not teach him to feel his brother's wo; but he takes a dire delight in enhancing, instead of mitigating, the unavoidable evils to which human nature is exposed. When I survey, with my intellectual eyes, the servility of some, the degradation of others, and the ignorance of most of men, I am led to believe, that if they have souls in their carcasses they are more criminal than unfortunate.—Excuse the spontaneous doubt; for, if we may judge of the intellects of some men by their actions, we must come to this conclusion, that if they have souls they degrade them below the standard of brutal sagacity.

This is truly a degrading picture of humanity, and I am sorry to say it is as true as it is tragical. But I would add, it is the worst side of the picture. We may, to counterpoise the above representation, assert that there are many liberal, intelligent, benevolent, candid, and independent souls which animate and stimulate the bodies of men. Such characters are superior to the influence of bigotry, they can see through the guise of ecclesiastical monopoly, human distinction, and party prejudice. They can circle in one kind embrace, with the arms of universal philanthropy, every intelligent being.

Delightful conversation with such I seldom participate, unless it is with the dead Christian philosophers and philanthropists, who speak through the medium of their useful and scientific writings.

Could we analize the mind as we anatomize the body of man, our admiration would be soon changed to amazement. Who can consider the operations of the mind, this spark of heavenly flame which can dart from star to star, from system to system, and even from earth to hell, and from hell to heaven as swift as light, restless as the wind. With his bodily eye the intelligent man views the stars like twinkling lights in the atmosphere, but with his intellectual eyes he views them as enormous masses of durable matter, equal in magnitude to the sun; and may we not extend our ideas to the formation of the brutal, as well as human creation. Could we ascertain the infinite ingenuity manifested in the creation of an ant, or an antelope, a snail or a whale, a mole or a foal, we should be constrained in silent astonishment to muse the maker's praise. The sagacity of the animal creation also declares the wisdom of Providence. They can distinguish

between the poisonous plant and nutritious herb. Between their food and their physic. What can be more cunning than the fox, more furious than the lion, more timorous than the deer, more vigilant than the ant, more industrious than the bee, more ingenious than the beaver, more mischievous than the monkey, more docile than the elephant, more patient than the ass, more grateful than the dog, and more ungrateful than their tyrant MAN!

As the meteor flies through the air, spreads its long and gilded train, and is soon dissolved to common air again, so it is with us, so with the most superb monuments of art, and so with the grandest scenes of nature. Wherever we turn our eyes, all appears changing, all in motion, and to the general circulation the most durable bodies seem to owe their origin; metals and stones seem to be concretions of soft substances, and both are found to rust and moulder away; plants and animals soon arrive at maturity, and as quickly hasten to their dissolution. And yet, alas, how seldom do we find our minds properly impressed with this important sentiment. Most men live as if they were never to die. To me these meteors seem to toll the death bell of my approaching dissolution. While the voice of the animal, the vegetable, and mineral creation, preach repentance to me and all mankind.

Bad principles might be destroyed in youth, if taken in time, with the same facility as good ones instilled. Had Bonaparte's first and best school-master been a true republican, and early inspired him with the love of liberty and equality, and an abhorrence of king-craft, and priest-craft, perhaps there would not be at this time a royal villain with a diadem, or a most Rev. impostor with a mitre on his head in the world, or at least in Europe. But what could have been effected by a superannuated pedagogue then, can scarcely now be accomplished by all mankind; because his principles of monarchy, imbibed in the military school of Louis XVI, matured with his increase of years.

The rights, the comfort, and the happiness of all mankind, were the objects of Christ's solicitude, but he had an evident predilection for the poor. The great object of his mission was, to give sight to the blind, feet to the lame, health to the sick, life to the dead, and the best of all, "to preach *the gospel to the poor.*"

How melodious does this glorious mission sound in the ears of the true philanthropist, when he contrasts it with the bloody wars, carnage, destruction, and death, with which the antecedent history of the world is filled. Who showed any solicitude or commiseration for the poor, till Christ set the example? Not the Jewish priesthood—witness the parable of the good Samaritan. Who has followed this blessed example? Is it the Christian ministry? Not all of them. Witness the hosts of dignified clergymen, who live in pomp and grandeur on the fleece, and the devil may take the flock for what they care. They make a machine of the gospel to accumulate power and wealth, and a step-ladder on which they climb to human honor and secular preferment. The blessed Jesus preached his glorious gospel to the poor, not for pay, but from motives of purest pity; his pulpit a green mountain, and his sounding-board the blue canopy of heaven. Indeed, he appeared himself in the character of extreme poverty, in order to prove to a demonstration, how contemptible the rich man's tinsel appears in the sight of heaven.

And as it is a fundamental truth, although the rich refuse to believe it such, that the most necessary part of education is a habit of industry, and a propensity to application, this principle, therefore, should be infused at an early age at least into the minds of the children of the poor. The manual labor schools must not be omitted, in which children exercise themselves, at an early age, in habits of industry most necessary in common life. Their labor helps to pay for their schooling, books, &c. Habits of industry are acquired, the judgment matured, the principles of science rooted, the foundation of virtue and happiness laid, and the love of liberty deeply implanted.

Hence, the youthful imitative mortals, instead of being corrupted or stupified by dead languages and obsolete literature, at an age most susceptible of impressions, which it is very hard for even time to eradicate, would be instructed in real science, and to admire, love, and defend the liberty their fathers died to purchase, and the constitution, which secures to them the enjoyment of this precious liberty. George Washington, the first president of the United States, points out the utility, and recommends the organization of such an institution.

"Whilst it is universally admitted that a well instructed people alone can be permanently a free people, and whilst it is evident that the means of diffusing and improving useful knowledge form so small a proportion of the expenditures for national purposes, I cannot presume it to be unreasonable to invite your attention to the advantages of superadding to the means of education provided by the several states, a seminary of learning, instituted by the national legislature, within the limits of their exclusive jurisdiction; the expense of which might be defrayed or reimbursed out of the vacant grounds which have accrued to the nation within those limits.

"Such an institution, though local in its legal character, would be universal in its beneficial effects. By enlightening the opinions, by expanding the patriotism, and by assimilating the principles, the sentiments, and the manners of those who might resort to this temple of science, to be re-distributed, in due time, through every part of the community; sources of jealousy and prejudice would be diminished, the features of national character would be multiplied, and greater extent given to social harmony. But above all, a well constituted seminary, in the centre of the nation, is recommended by the consideration, that the additional instruction emanating from it would contribute no less to strengthen the foundations, than to adorn the structure, of our free and happy system of government."

The conduct of Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, the Carthagenian general, presents itself to prove the force of our argument. Even at the age of nine years his father, by the force of education, inspired him with an extreme hatred against the Romans, which continued to his death; and he proved the most dangerous enemy they ever contended with. What endows even the savages of our own continent with such unconquerable resolution, composure, and patience, even in the midst of the greatest agonies and bodily torture, which they endure, not only without complaint, but deride and defy their foes in the midst thereof? No doubt it is the force of example, accompanied with precept. By what means did Sparta remain free, long after the other republican states of Greece were enslaved? By attending to the laws of Lycurgus: particularly those relating to the education of their youth. And had she abided by the laws of that wise legislator, she would have remained free much longer. What proved the harbin-

ger of the degradation and enslavement of the Roman republic? An indifference in the people to the interest of the commonwealth, inattention to the education of their youth, and a general depravation of public manners. Luxury in a nation, is as destructive as intemperance in an individual.

The patricians may think it derogatory to their dignity to listen or attend to the propositions of a simple child of nature, without either a handle or a tail to his name—neither Honorable, Excellency, or Esquire, nor Rev., Right Rev., Bishop, or Archbishop, A. M., D. D., M. D. or L.L. D.—such titles of honor as the sons of vanity attach to their names, in order to let the world know that they are superior to the "Swinish Multitude" of Edmund Burke. For my part, was I to be so vain, foolish, and proud as to attach a tail to my name, it should be *O. S. M.*, i. e. *One of the Swinish Multitude!!! alias*, One of the People. O how sad a sight are all pedantic and transitory distinctions, and honorary nicknames, "to those whose thoughts can pierce beyond an hour!" But to return. Although I do not address the government, I address their masters, the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, who will be heard, or change their representatives.

The young Americans who can read the history of the present despotic governments of Europe, written in the innocent blood of millions of their poor unhappy fellow-creatures, and who can applaud the one and despise the other, apologize and vindicate the first, and at the same time deprecate and calumniate the last, surely must be deeply corrupted by their mistaken mode of instruction.

[The greatest improvement in schools and academies, would be to have them always kept open, with seats for visiters, the same as churches, legislative halls, court rooms, &c, &c: common or public schools open to the public, private schools to the parents and guardians, female schools to the mothers, sisters, and female friends. This would be a constant salutary check and stimulus, both to the pupils and teachers, and afford interest and instruction to the visiters. Evening and winter schools are also much needed for adults. Scholars should continually and faithfully practice composition, which is of more value than all their other studies, or rather is the object of them, and without which mere handwriting is useless.]

Extract from my Letter to Napoleon Bonaparte, 1801, *repeated in* 1804.

I thought I saw the French republic nodding to its fall, some thirty-five or forty years ago: I now am sure I see the last republic on earth in the same danger, and from the very same cause. I gave the citizen First Consul, N. Bonaparte, true and timely warning, through his Secretary of State, Monsieur, since Prince Talleyrand. They, no doubt, treated my respectful and reasonable remonstrances with sovereign contempt. I believe they are revolving them now, with sad and accumulating regret and torturing remorse, and will do so to all eternity. It was not for want of light to see the super-inhuman villainy of the deed, or the dreadful consequences resulting from their base and diabolical ambition, that M. Talleyrand or Bonaparte, or perhaps both, subverted, nay annihilated, the liberties of the French republic.

TO NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"Having freely apprised you of your danger in a future world, in the event of final inattention to your eternal interests, permit me to remind you of your duty and your danger in a political point of view. Have you duly adverted to the genius of that great nation over which you now preside? And are they not, almost to a proverb, jealous of their national rights and liberties? Have they not proved to the world that they are a nation of Brutuses? Are they, on this account, to be condemned? Have they sacrificed countless lives, and almost exhausted their treasures to procure for themselves, and transmit to their posterity, their national rights and privileges; and shall they not be tenacious of them? The man, or set of men, who despoils them of privileges obtained at such infinite expense, literally robs them of the vast treasures they expended, and virtually murders the many brave heroes who sacrificed their lives to purchase liberty for their country and their children, and proclaims to the world that these heroes fought and bled and died in vain. To imagine that the French people will allow themselves to be, with impunity, despoiled of their dear-bought privileges, is to suppose them, not only without patriotism, honor, and generosity, but without a mind and without a memory. Shall they, after the bloody struggle, transmit to coming generations a despotism so unmanly and fatal? Shall they deposit, in the hands of their progeny, the sanguinary sword, all stained with the blood of the patriotic sons of France, when a little more courage and perseverance would secure their liberties? In what contempt and detestation would posterity hold them? Would not their children, and their children's children, execrate their cowardice, and curse the tyrant while rotting in his grave, with his parasitical advisers? All that is wanting to render them happy, is perseverance in the vindication of their just rights and unalienable privileges. Of vast magnitude and importance is the cause of liberty. It is not the concern of a city or a country; it is the concern of Europe, nay, of the whole world. It is not the concern of a day, of a year, or of an age; it is equally the concern of the present generation, and of many generations and of all to come.

Recollect, Sir, your political conduct may be productive of much happiness or of much misery to many millions yet unborn. Figure to yourself your political misconduct inscribed, in very small characters, on a young tree, and the inscription to increase with the tree; in what large characters would posterity read your infamous departure from political and moral rectitude? You should always remember, when you are planning for posterity, that neither wisdom, nor virtue, nor honor, nor courage, is hereditary. Portentous are the times in which we live. Great is the trust deposited in your hands. How many millions are committed to your care! Many are the vicissitudes of fortune they have already experienced. Manifold difficulties have they encountered and escaped. High is the eminence on which you now stand. Vast is the prospect before you. Happily may you contribute to the prosperity, or unhappily may you conduce to the misery of Europe. Inattentive must you be to your duty, your interest and your honor, to the interest and the honor of the French nation, if you are not inspired with the most laudable ambition and zeal to secure to them such a free and happy government as they risk their all to obtain. Has not the world seen the French nation great in adversity, struggling with the difficulties incident to a revolutionary war? and the intrigues of unprincipled men among themselves, a number of whom have met the fate they merited? and shall they not be great in prosperity, and continue to defend their rights, as a lioness does her cubs? Immense is the hurt which, by misconduct, you may now do. By a virtuous administration, on the contrary, you may do more for the interest and honor of the nation, at the head of which you now stand, than all your former victories and conquests have done. Were not the Lacedæmonians, in external circumstances, inferior to many of the other states of Greece; and yet, by their virtue and their valour, did they not obtain a pre-eminence? Have not the most celebrated heroes of antiquity been distinguished and famous for their contempt of worldly riches and honors? In what low circumstances were many of the most celebrated champions of ancient Rome, such as Fabricius, Cincinnatus, Regulus, and others? And yet those were the times in which public, as well as private virtue, shone with unrivalled lustre. Their poverty, far from being a reproach, added fresh laurels

to their fame. It indicated such a noble contempt of riches as rendered them superior to all the arts of corruption and bribery. In modern times, as well as ancient, public virtue possesses charms which attract attention, and add a dignity to nations, which is superior to riches and power; commanding respect where pomp, splendor, and magnificence are despised. The people of France are not ignorant of the necessary prerequisites and essential qualifications which constitute an upright magistrate or a virtuous government. They know that a good magistrate is a friend to the liberties of the people, makes their interest his own, and is happy when they are happy. Readily can they also recognize when an individual tyrant, or a government of them, deviates from the path of rectitude; prostituting their consciences and their power to the most unworthy purposes. A nation, delivered from local prepossessions and sentimental prejudices, sees with new eyes, and hears with new ears. Curious, as well as contaminating, is prejudice; accommodating itself to all the propensities and passions of the human mind. In what mind, noble or ignoble, learned or illiterate, does it not find a residence? What mind is not, in a greater or less degree, under the influence of political or religious prejudice? Like the spider, it can fix its residence, and live any or everywhere. Let the mind be as empty as the walls of an uninhabited dungeon, or polished like the walls of a palace; let it be informed or uninformed; prejudice, if not disturbed, will keep possession of it. But when the time arrives, at which a political revolution is to be accomplished in the state, or a religious in the church, prejudice, however obstinate, must yield. The revolution which has taken place in France, in the political sentiments of the people, no less than the political state of the country, is, doubtless, in all its causes, concomitants, and effects, one of the most extraordinary in the annals of the world. Great, indeed, is the change in the political sentiments of the French nation. Are they as much as ever dupes to political ignorance and error? Are they as much as ever liable to the impositions of designing men and enterprising demagogues? Are they as much as ever apt tamely to submit to any tyrant or despot that may wish to enslave them? Or is the mind swept of its former political cobwebs, and prepared for the reception of generous political

ideas? Can they be supposed ever to return to their political ignorance and prejudices? As soon may a scholar totally forget his alphabet, or a wise man become an idiot. Can the mind, once duly informed, become uninformed, or unknow what it knows? Apt, indeed, are vulgar minds to be dazzled with the splendor of courts. But often are the despotic actions, and enormous expenses of the latter, the means of undeceiving the former; and the veil of ignorance, when once torn, can never be repaired, as ignorance is only the absence of knowledge. It is obvious, that though a man may be kept ignorant, he cannot be made ignorant.

"Let me, in a particular manner, inculcate on your mind one momentous truth. It is this—notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, there is not a description of men that more clearly see your danger, or more heartily despise your conduct, in the event of its proving unhappily despotic, than those very characters of the diplomatic, senatorial, and judicial departments, who now daily surround and flatter you. Interest obliges them to wish you to oppress the people, because they expect then to enrich themselves at the expense of the public. In the event of your acting the basest part, self-interest would incline them to approve and eulogize your conduct. Sensible are they, that if you could see your danger as they see it, your government might speedily come to an end, and they would lose their places and pensions. But well do they know, that if you infringe the privileges of the people, your head will not be out of danger; but while you keep your head upon your shoulders, they wish to keep their lucrative places, like the flatterers of Robespierre, and his premature and ignominious death will prove the authenticity of my assertion. You certainly cannot have forgotten the tragical end of this sanguinary monster, that, for a time, ruled the French nation; who received a thousand addresses and congratulations, filled with the most fulsome flattery, on his escaping a supposed plot for his assassination. And you cannot but remember what happened about one month after. He was brought to the scaffold; and, for the very great service they had done to society, by extirpating such a monster from the earth, his executioners received upwards of fifteen hundred addresses of thanks from the people. But to show, beyond a doubt, that the French nation know what their chief

magistrate is, or ought to be, I will here transcribe that declaration of the rights of man which was made the basis of the new constitution, and which, by order of the National Convention, was circulated throughout France, at the commencement of the Revolution.

"DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF CITIZENS,

"*By the National Assembly of France.*

"'The representatives of the people of France, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth, in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights: That this declaration, being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: that the acts of the legislature and executive powers of government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestable principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

"'For these reasons the National Assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favor, the following sacred rights of men and of citizens:—

"'I. Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect to their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

"'II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

"'The nation [people] is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

"'IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natu-

ral rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

"'V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law, should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

"'VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally, or by their representatives in its formation. It should be the same to all whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honors, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

"'VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; and every citizen called upon, or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

"'VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished, but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

"'IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

"'X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by law.

"'XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions, being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

"'XII. A public force being necessary to give security to

the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the benefit of the persons with whom it is entrusted.

"'XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

"'XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contribution, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

"'XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents, an account of their conduct.

"'XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

"'XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.'

"Whether your future official conduct shall accomplish or disappoint the expectations of the friends of liberty, it is certain that such a government as is here recommended may exist, nay, has in fact existed, both in theory and practice, for a number of years. That nations, populous, and inhabiting countries of great extent, may be, if they will, free and happy, here is an irrefragable proof. Here, in the United States of America, are persons of all nations and of all languages, who brought their prepossessions and prejudices, propensities and passions, with them; who, notwithstanding, live in harmony and friendship. The different departments of government are established and supported on principles of economy, rather than extravagance. Here no provision is made for a despot to live in magnificence and splendor, at the expense of the poor as well as the rich; the mechanical, as well as the mercantile parts of society. Neither our executive nor our legislative bodies have any occasion for guards, to protect them from an infuriated populace. Where such defence is necessary, it unavoidably occasions a suspicion that some fatal source of public discontent exists, from which the

necessity of it proceeds. And unhappy, indeed, is the man, whether called a consul or a constable, who is obnoxious to the vengeance of a nation on account of his tyranny. The inimitable general and patriotic statesman, George Washington, who lives, and will forever live in the affection of the people of America, and to whom, under God, we are indebted for the independence, liberty, and prosperity we now enjoy, permit me to repeat the sentiment, WHAT A NOBLE PATTERN FOR YOU TO IMITATE! After his example, consecrate your fame. Give to France her well-adjusted and rightly-organized constitution; a constitution which, adapted to the character and local circumstances of the nation, shall establish their prosperity on the solid principles of liberty and good order. This once accomplished, her acquisitions will form the basis of substantial greatness; but, if otherwise, they will fly away like the painted, but unsubstantial forms of a magic lantern.

"Is not France now, in a particular manner, the object of the jealousy of the other European powers? The states, at whose expense she has been aggrandized, will not be easily reconciled to her, but will, with impatience, watch the moment of retaliation. Should France be cursed with a distracted government, or, which is worse still, a military or a hereditary despotism, which God forbid! opportunity will not be wanting. The friends of France have considered the late revolution as the most glorious epoch in its history, and the most consoling presage of its future greatness. But remember, sir, its future happiness depends, in a great measure, on your official conduct, particularly the rectitude of your heart, and the purity of your intentions.

"If your administration shall unhappily prove to be incompatible with the political principles which you and the French nation profess, and repugnant to the character of a just ruler, a good citizen, and an honest man; if it shall eventually encroach upon the natural rights of man, as man, particularly that most valuable of all rights and most sacred of all property, liberty of conscience, [and freedom of the press,] what must the necessary consequence be? It will not only exhibit your *political hypocrisy* with a witness, and your *systematic villainy* without disguise, BUT WILL ASSUREDLY PROVE A PRELUDE TO YOUR RUIN."

Alas! how wofully has the above prediction, made thirty-five years ago, been fulfilled. May Louis Philipe and all monarchs take warning.

It seems that king-ridden and priest-ridden people cannot be content without an idol to worship. Witness the ancient Israelites, when delivered from Egyptian bondage: yet they would have a golden calf to adore. And the French republic, when emancipated from royal bondage, nothing would suit them but an imperial bull to bow before. Some will boldly assert, that such is their temperament and volatility, that they cannot live only under a military or hereditary despotism. If this is a fact, they are certainly inferior to the brute creation.

The species of lions, tigers, bears, and crocodiles, have no Neros, Caligulas, Dionysius's, or Robespierres among them; and wherefore? because they listen to and obey the laws of nature. But man, with all his boasted knowledge, destroys his own happiness by disobeying the laws of nature, and forthwith manufactures a host of tyrants, who grievously oppress him. And is it not a just reaction of Divine providence, for his base ingratitude in refusing to pay homage to God, the author of all his mercies? Without any manner of doubt. The fact is, when men, individually or collectively, in political or religious societies, turn their backs upon the God of nature, and lend a deaf ear to the intellectual voice of the Spirit of truth, it is impossible to calculate to what excess they may run into all manner of religious and political absurdity; I should rather have said, religious fanaticism and political intolerance.

The ease with which the human mind may be led from the source of its happiness to the source of its misery, I have viewed with astonishment and grief. An association of bad politicians or religionists might metamorphose the children of the most independent people to slavish worshippers of the great mogul, or the grand lama. But what is the cause? They abuse the gift of God by prostituting their reason and common sense in the service of their mortal tyrants, to the neglect of their immortal Benefactor, and a curse attends the unnatural innovation.

This must be a fact, let who will deny it. When a man reads in the book of creation this important text, "*learn from my kindness to you all to be kind to one another*," and the

same day vindicates and defends the political and ecclesiastical tyrants who degrade and torment their own species: is not the conduct of this man an insult to reason and common sense? and is not his own misery a just reaction for his hypocritical and tyrannical servility? Yet, alas, what is called civilized and christianized society, presents millions of such instances. Indeed, so very corrupt are all ranks in civilized as well as savage life, that none but those who take their intellectual eyes from man, and place them upon the works and words of God, and no longer listen to any syren voice, but rather to the voice of the holy spirit, can be able to distinguish between truth and error.

The people of France no doubt heard with admiration the well known fact, that General Washington fought for his country in the field, and presided in the cabinet for many years; and so far from circumventing the mouth of labor, or enriching himself therewith, he would not receive any pecuniary emolument for his important services. Yet the same people subsequently beheld, with a criminal apathy, General Bonaparte subvert their republic, and purloin from the national purse more money for the splendid decoration of himself, and his first and second wife, than would maintain the government of the United States twenty years; while, at the same time, many of his fellow-citizens, who were his equals in mental, and his superiors in moral excellence, were perishing for want of the necessaries of life.

Nature encompasses man with abundance, yet we see him die for want; and wherefore? because, as in the above instance, he acts in opposition, and not in subordination to the laws of nature. He, the oppressed, winks at the villainy of his oppressors, and of course becomes doubly guilty; *for he who allows oppression shares the crime.* If, therefore, an individual villain, or a government of them, rule any nation with despotic power, it is the people who suffer and who are to blame, as well as their oppressors. Yet view the most polished societies; for, in my view, the more polished the more corrupt they generally are. See one part, the rich and powerful few, circumventing the poor and helpless many of even the necessaries of life. The first are cloyed with superabundance, the last perish for want.

These polished nations have visited many parts of the earth

which they did not cultivate, but few places but what they polluted with the blood of their species. It would certainly take a larger book than the Bible to contain a description of the extravagant pride and sensuality of one part of the population of Europe, and the degradation and starvation of the other part. One part is exalted above the state of man, the other is degraded below the state of brutes. Thus the laws of nature are inverted, and a curse attends the inversion; for the rich are cloyed with abundance until they cannot enjoy it, while the poor are perishing for want of their portion of these necessaries of life. Yet they all profess to be led, not by reason alone, but also by religion, and the most profound erudition and polite literature. But, alas! every religious and political association has a reason of its own. Many religious societies have also a phraseology of their own, as well as a peculiarity of manners, customs, and forms of religion, and apparel different from all others. Yet they all think their own form is the best. And this pride of opinion is the parent of bigotry, which formerly kindled the fires in which the martyrs were consumed; and to the present moment is a partition wall to separate the members of the same family, who were ordained by nature to live in the most perfect union, reciprocal friendship, and social intercourse. Yet they all, and each of them, will say they can give you reason, and also scripture, chapter and verse, for their diversified forms and ceremonies, though often as different from each other as light is from darkness. When the Source of Truth appeared among the Jews, and preached his celestial gospel, the scribes and Pharisees professed the highest degree of religion, and could, no doubt, produce what they called reason and revelation in support of it; yet their cruel malice and malicious cruelty, which terminated in the crucifixion of our dear and merciful Redeemer, clearly demonstrated then what kind of religion they possessed; the same as the roasting a heretic alive with a slow fire, by the officers of the inquisition, now clearly shows what kind of religion they profess. But though the Catholics still support the inquisition, is religious persecution confined to them? By no means. In every sect there are proud and tyrannical dictators, who have martyred their thousands in the name of God and religion; and as they grow rich and powerful, they become more proud and intolerant,

in an exact ratio. And it is as difficult to disperse the clouds of ignorance and error from their minds as it was from the minds of the ancient Jews, who lived and died the victims of a fatal delusion, crying, "Peace, peace," when swift destruction was coming upon them. Witness the sack of Jerusalem, by Titus, forty years after the death of Christ.

The French revolution, with the concomitant circumstances attending it, was certainly a great phenomenon, especially in the political world. When we reflect upon the declaratory exordium which prefaces the declaration of the rights of men and citizens, promulgated by the National Assembly of France; when we reflect on the subject matter of that declaration, and the majestic appearance of a nation opening its commission under the auspices of heaven; shaking off its shackles, discarding its local prejudices and sentimental prepossessions, and resolving to be free, we are struck with amazement; particularly when we keep in mind the prostituted state of politics in Europe at that time. When we take a retrospective view of the thousands, nay millions, who were sacrificed to accelerate and consolidate the organization of the French republic, we are not surprized; for the instant we inquire the reason why so many persons were slaughtered at the revolution, we find an answer by taking a view of the degraded state of millions in Christianized countries, known by the appellation of the ignorant mob or swinish multitude. They arise as the natural consequences of despotism, and are the fruits of legal barbarity. In all arbitrary governments, in order to exalt some men, many are debased, till the whole is out of nature.

While the artificial nobleman is consuming thousands Sterling out of the public taxes to maintain his superiority, his domestics and his concubines are magnificently dressed, his horses and his hounds are luxuriantly fed, a great extent of land is appropriated, as a park, for him to hunt in, while the annual production of grain is not equal to the national consumption. Finally, he spends his life in affluence, luxury, and dissipation; but cannot enjoy even what he possesses, as abundance cloys while mediocrity satisfies. The nobleman by nature has to cultivate an acre or two of his land, for which he pays an extravagant rent, labors incessantly, lives poorly, and is insulted daily. His taxes high, his tythes higher, and

the imperious lone of his noble lord highest. His children are raised in degradation, without information, or any prospect but vassalage with contamination. For, as the poor, though noble man, was to pay taxes even for his bread and salt, as well as every other commodity, and pay tithes for all he possesses, however little, he can scarcely feed, much less educate his offspring, with all his industry. They are, consequently, reduced below the state of savages, for they have but few wants, which nature supplies; but the poor, ignorant, untaught, vulgar multitude have many wants, and no means to supply them but by robbery or rebellion. Hence so many, not of the rich, but of the poor, are daily executed; and hence, in revolutions, these poor unhappy persons are as furious as bears robbed of their cubs. In short, the evils and miseries attending despotism and aristocracy are so many and various, that it would take volumes to contain them. I am astonished out of measure when I see people, and poor people too, in America, attempting to vindicate the rights of those right honorable and right reverend tyrants to oppress their fellowmen, and grind the face of the poor. I think, at times, they deserve to feel the iron hand of despotism themselves; then they would know better. When I contemplate the natural dignity of man, who was made in the image of God, and at the same time view a vast mass of them degradingly thrown back in the human picture to bring forward, with greater glare, the state and magnificence of a set of the most dissipated, unjust, and ungenerous mortals, I can scarcely avoid being irritated at these impostors, and disgusted at those who suffer themselves to be thus imposed on. This inequality is not confined to politics. Religion also is made a pack-horse for tyrants to ride to hell upon, and a cloak to hide the ecclesiastical oppressor's cloven foot, with which he tramples upon the superstitious crowd, who worship, and even kiss the foot that spurns them. Many horrible instances might be given of this: one must suffice. A nominal religious man, called an archbishop, in Christianized countries, is allowed a salary of forty thousand pounds per annum, to preach the gospel of the self-denying Redeemer. He will perhaps officiate twice a year, his curate two hundred times, who is a real religious man; yet he is only allowed forty pounds per year to support a large family of children upon. This plain matter of

fact cannot be contradicted. For this, and a variety of other reasons, the ignorant multitude are furious, and not to be restrained at the commencement of a revolution, and are rather the followers of the camp than the standard of liberty; and they are to be pitied rather than to be reproached. All the sins resulting from revolutions or rebellions lie at the doors of oppressors, who are the primary cause of them. If we look back on the riots, tumults, and rebellions in the governments of Europe, we will see that despotism was the radical cause of them all. Taxation, however disguised in the means, always appears in the effect. As a great part of the community are reduced thereby to penury and want, they are consequently always on the brink of commotion. Ignorant and depraved as they unhappily are, without any prospect but wretchedness before them, and without any information, or the means to gain any, farther than to know and feel that their oppressors and tyrants are exalted and exalting themselves at their expense, consequently they are easily heated to outrage, and are as easily executed by their enemies when heated. The one-thousandth part of the money expended, to aggrandize and support despotism, is more than sufficient to educate all the poor orphans, and support comfortably all the superannuated poor in a nation, and these who are the most helpless and the greatest sufferers. The one-third of the civil list of the metamorphosed emperor Napoleon, was sufficient to provide comfortably for every poor person in Paris; and the same might be said of other countries. There is no ruler, no matter what his title is, for they are nothing but nicknames at the best, earns more than twenty-five thousand dollars annually, which is the salary of our president, who I conceive to be a more useful, ingenuous, disinterested, and better informed ruler than any other in the world. [This was written in the time of Mr. Jefferson.] While I feel the most implacable indignation and disgust at the despot who robs his country and fellow-men of their dearest rights and natural privileges, I can scarcely avoid almost idolizing the patriot who, regardless of the solicitations of ambition, who, deaf to the calls of interested motives, who, dead to the fascinating love of popularity, and the excitements of power and opportunity to aggrandize himself, walks in the paths of political rectitude and republican consistency, and who, with a philosophical

patience scarcely to be equalled and never exceeded, in ancient or modern times, treats with silent contempt the accumulated calumnies of the votaries of aristocracy and despotism. Indeed, I do not know which to admire most, the political or the philosophical rectitude of Mr. Jefferson. With respect to the first, I would compare him to a Cincinnatus; and to the second, to the lion, looking back with sovereign contempt on the braying of the stupid ass mentioned in the fable. This every one must acknowledge that allows patriotic actions to speak louder than hypocritical pretensions.

It is barbarously wicked for any individual to accept, or any government to appropriate millions for the support of rulers, when thousands would be more than enough. The iniquity of such injustice is greatly enhanced when we reflect that the poor, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to aggrandize despots, who oppress and keep them as ignorant as they are wretched, and thus they are forced to take the bread out of their children's mouths, to help to make up the enormous salaries of their tyrants. Hence, the hearts of the humane are shocked daily, in Christian countries, with the sight of thousands of half starved and naked children, and beggars bending with age, while the poor-houses are crowded with miserable objects, and the jails with the fruits of legal barbarity. Widows, with their weeping infants, are carted away on the death of their husbands, and imprisoned in alms-houses to work for the public, while their support is scanty indeed. All these evils might be remedied if a fund was established in each large metropolis; and every right honorable pensioner on government, even the sovereigns themselves, would deposit part of their millions in each fund. Earls, dukes, and lords, by appropriating a part of their enormous salaries and pensions for this honorable and noble purpose, would solace many a virtuous and honest heart, dry up the tears of many a melting eye, and make thousands of widows and millions of half starved and naked orphans dance for joy. The miserable haunts of the poor would then be known, because it would be their advantage to make their case known, whereas now they keep it a secret, lest they be carted to the work-house. Petit larceny, the offspring of poverty, would then be greatly lessened, as well as highway robberies and murders, with their concomitant executions.

Such a plan might easily be put in practice without any embarrassment whatever. The relief and education of millions would be effected merely by devoting a part of the public taxes, funds, and lands to common schools.

We will briefly notice the greatest of all phenomenons, the coronation of Bonaparte, who, though equal to Robespierre in cruelty, is far superior to him in guile and fascinating sophistry, which this unexpected event abundantly proves, and which I consider as the most consummate piece of villainy ever acted on the theatre of the universe. This occurrence proves that religious, as well as political apostacy, has become of late familiar, not only to the demagogues, but many of the citizens of France and potentates of Europe. The people of France, after many invincible struggles, at last burst their manacles asunder, asserted their native rights and unalienable privileges, formed, or endeavored to form, a representative government, and a constitution upon principles of civil liberty; but for the want of stability, precaution, watchfulness, and public virtue, they have, from time to time, become the dupes of restless, ambitious, and enterprising adventurers, who, in conjunction with ruffians delighting in disorder and innovation, endeavored to accelerate contention and produce anarchy, that they might thereby have an opportunity to mount the chariot of commotion, and, seizing the loosened reins, wield the scourge of civil war, to ride upon the storm, and enslave the people. The reasons that mankind are so wretchedly fooled, and robbed of their dearest rights and privileges, are, first, they are not sufficiently jealous of those they entrust with power; and, second, it is difficult for a nation, habituated for centuries to slavery, ignorance, and degradation, to be taught in the school of civil liberty, and to become proficients in practical as well as theoretical republicanism.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, were it not for interested demagogues and ambitious despots, nations, who once anticipated the sweets of liberty, would not easily forego its paramount blessings. To say, as do many of the advocates of despotism, that mankind are not capable of enjoying the superexcellent blessing of rational freedom, is an infamous calumny, an impudent falsehood, an insult to the human family; it is, in short, degrading them far below the brute creation, for that

many brutes do enjoy their liberty, and yet are not injurious to civil society, is a stubborn fact. By saying that men are not fit for freedom, is to make chains, stripes, insults, starvation, and degradation their choice, the domineering frowns and imperious commands of tyrants their delight, and peace, plenty, domestic happiness, and national freedom at home, and respect abroad, the objects of their detestation; but, as facts are superior to reasoning, the instance of America presents itself to give the lie to these infamous calumnies.

The executive conduct of the French usurper exhibited his political hypocrisy with a witness, and his systematic villainy without disguise. Not content with becoming a first consul, under the pretence of acting for the benefit of the citizens of France; still professing to be a friend to the people and a firm votary of republicanism, he affected change after change, BUT FIRST ORGANIZED A STANDING ARMY, WITHOUT WHICH HE NEVER COULD HAVE ENSLAVED THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE, but would, long ere now, have met the premature fate of Robespierre. From a first consul, he has, with long and hasty strides, attained emperorship, with all the hypocritic solemnity and magnificence of royalty. Thus, the people who spilt rivers of human blood to establish a representative government, and to transmit this blessing to their children, for the want of prudent jealousy and watchfulness, have been forced to aggrandize the monster that has robbed them of millions of lives and billions of treasure; nay, to spend thirty millions of dollars, exacted from the mouth of labor, to mount him on the throne of the decapitated Louis XVI, whose crown is placed on the head of this wandering adventurer. This is the effect of entrusting any man, or set of men, with power: then let America behold, take warning, and shun the snare, the fatal rock on which the republicanism of France has been shipwrecked. See the country's freedom destroyed, thousands reduced to beggary, even in Paris, to exalt a legion of honor, or rather a legion of despots, rolling in luxury at the expense of the public; while weeping liberty is totally banished, to make place for the most dreadfully formidable military, ecclesiastical, and hereditary despotism that ever terrified, degraded, and tormented the human family. This is Bonaparte, that was so affected at his coronation with tender emotions, (or, rather, pretended to be so,) that he could

scarcely refrain from shedding tears of keen sensibility when taking the imperial oath to defend the liberties of the people, and could only express it in broken monosyllables. This brings to mind the impolitic and imprudent conduct of the sovereign pontiff, who attended his coronation. In particularizing a few spontaneous thoughts on this unparalleled event and unprecedented crisis, I do not by any means wish, much less intend, to give umbrage to a certain sect of people whom I respect, as well as all other denominations, as all their titles and appellations are synonymous with me. Virtue I admire and revere, wherever or in whomsoever I can see it flourish. But I will prove, from the principles and tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, which I ought to know, being educated and brought up in that persuasion, the prefixed animadversion. I will first allow, as candor obliges me so to do, that his holiness was instigated more by fear than love, more by constraint than desire, to leave the papal territories and take a long and tedious journey, at an advanced stage of life, to crown a man that he could not avoid knowing was a hypocrite, a murderer, a robber, and a Mahometan; but I must at the same time affirm, that it was his bounden duty, as heaven's representative on earth, to sacrifice his life sooner than *his virtue*. Thus he would have honored, whereas he has eternally degraded, the religion he professed to be the defender of; and its author, whose viceroy he professes to be. Can it be supposed that the meek and lowly Redeemer, who says, "He who loses his life for my sake shall find it, and he who keeps my commandments is my friend," can look with complacency on the meanest of his children who would willingly support, assist, and encourage an individual robber, or a gang of them? How must he, therefore, look upon the man who is exhibited as infallible—supreme in holiness and in power, the teacher of virtue, the father of devotion; and who, by profession, is the friend of God. With what disapprobation must he behold him prostituting the sacredness of his holy character, exalted station, and sovereign title, in sacrilegiously depositing an imperial crown on the head of a conqueror, whose hands are yet reeking, red with the innocent blood of thousands, murdered in cool blood, and millions slaughtered in his anger: who waded through seas of human blood to imperial honor, regardless of the widow's and the orphan's cries, whose rela-

tives died in the cause of liberty. His ambition aimed at universal dominion; his coronation, the encouragement and patronage which the sovereign pontiff gave him, in applying to him the epithet of "Our beloved son in Jesus Christ, Napoleon." This, with a catalogue of absurdities too tedious to mention, will have one glorious tendency at any rate, namely: to convince both friends and foes, who are not wilfully ignorant and superstitiously blind, the inconsistency, insufficiency, futility, and absurdity of popery and monarchy. Though I do not pretend to prophesy, yet I must affirm, that the conduct of his holiness the pope, in the instances here adduced, gives the death-blow to his infallibility; is a preliminary to the annihilation of his ecclesiastical sovereignty; is a sign of approaching reformation amongst a large portion of mankind, and seems to be a literal fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel: "And arms shall stand on his part, and shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and they shall place the abomination which maketh desolate."—*Dan.* xi, 31. Any person who has perused an account of the coronation—the apparent solemnity and reverential awe that was displayed, the seeming religious ceremonials, the hypocritical pretences of the self-created emperor, and, above all, the presence and approbation of the head of the Catholic Church, must be convinced that this event is exceedingly portentous and eventful. Little does his imperial majesty, Napoleon I, and his holiness, pope Pius VII, think, that like the Jews who crucified the Son of God, they are fulfilling some of the most important and interesting prophecies of the Old and New Testaments. But I must forego theological animadversions in this place, as the friends of despotism, who love to see contentions about religion, and to keep people ignorant of their natural rights, would be glad to have it in their power to stigmatize my arguments with the epithet of "*fanaticism.*" They are willing we should look this way, that way, or any way but the right way. They are also willing we should discuss any subject but the simplicity of civil government, which they exhibit as some very mysterious phenomenon, although it is the most simple thing in nature, viz, "a national association, acting on the principles of society;" and though the religion of Christ is still more simple, namely, pure love to God and man, they exhibit it as something very wonderful,

filled with mysteries and ceremonies, with which the vulgar multitude should not by any means meddle.

Passing by the impolicy of the pope's conduct, as a deleterious precedent to other enterprizing demagogues, and the impiety of it as a fatal wound to the cross of Christ and the holiness which the gospel inculcates, I will prove to a demonstration, from the canon laws of the Catholic Church, the solidity and authenticity of my arguments. Bonaparte was an acknowledged deist in Robespierre's reign; a Turk, or rather a Mahometan, by avowed profession, in Egypt; a great republican when he mounted his consular throne, and an aristocrat when he assumed his imperial robes. I say this same Bonaparte was, to all intents and purposes, excommunicated from the Catholic Church, of which he was previously a member. He did not make any recantation, get absolution, or perform public penance for his accumulated crimes and hypocritical apostacy, in his desertion from Christ to Mahomet in 1798; consequently he is no more a member of the Romish church than I am, or rather than the Grand Seignior is. Wherefore it would be more consistent with reason, revelation, and common sense, for the pope to consecrate one of Mahomet's priests a Christian potentate, than Bonaparte; for the one, although a heathen, might not be a hypocrite, nor be one day a Christian, and the next an infidel or a heathen, according as it answered his interested purposes. In short, whether I view the coronation, and the circumstances attending it, behind or before, sideways or any way, I must come to this conclusion: that it is a prodigy, especially in the political world, that never had a precedent, and perhaps may never have a parallel.

It should always be remembered, that in all my declamatory writings and animadversions, I endeavor to lash the vices and spare the persons of men, who are the objects of reproof. Yet it is utterly impossible to expose villainy and tyranny without designating the perpetrators, or to reprove the one while I exculpate the other, as there would be as much absurdity in so doing as if I was to reprove the pistol the duelist used to shoot his antagonist with, while I suffered the culprit to go unimpeached and unreproved. Though I seem to use asperity of language in execrating the votaries of slavery and despotism, the Omniscient is my witness that I am by

no means actuated by personal rancor or acrimony. It is with regret, and not with exultation, that I exhibit to popular execration the tyranny of slave-dealers and despots; and while I am reprobating their vices, I feel (God knows) a disposition to do them the most essential services with alacrity and delight. I well know that by nature I am no better than they; we are all men. With respect to Bonaparte in particular, perhaps he is a better man than I would be if I was in his situation. Indeed, I felt the most enthusiastic regard for him when I considered him to be a friend to the liberties of the people of France, and the votary of republicanism, and I strive to hope that he was not a political hypocrite when he fought the battles of the French republic; and, what encourages me thus to hope, is the case of Hazael, who proved to be the scourge and oppressor of the Israelites. When the prophet informed him, while a private man, uncontaminated by royalty and consequent ambition and pride, what he would be guilty of in following years, disgusted and petrified with horror at the anticipation of such cruel deeds, he answers, "*is thy servant a dog, that he would do this great thing.*" But, alas! when he was clothed with royal prerogative, he could calmly and unconcernedly commit the cruel deeds he trembled to anticipate before. It gives me pleasure to have it in my power to say any thing favorable of him; under this impression I would refer the reader to his letter to the king of Prussia. It is generous and just, and does more honor to the heart and the head, as well as the name of the writer, than any of his conquests.

When we remember the unspeakable light, liberty, benefits, and blessings, temporal and spiritual, with which the people of America have been crowned, and at the same time view the base returns we have made to the God of all our mercies, by oppressing his other creatures, must we not expect that he will visit our ingratitude with a vengeance? And when this eventful period has fully come, it may be ascertained by the American population's viewing with indifference the most prominent rocks on which the republics of antiquity have all been shipwrecked, particularly standing armies; the power of the executive of the general government; war, slavery, and a general depravation of national honesty. When these harbingers of our downfall appear, and

are viewed with indifference by the people, we may expect a dissolution of the Union to follow; the transformation of the separated states to independent monarchies; and, of course, endless civil wars will no doubt be the concomitant. One thing defective in the Constitution of the United States will, I believe, be productive of the most fatal consequences at some future period; and that is, the patronage of our executive. Every intelligent politician is well convinced, that where any man, whether called a president or potentate, consul or king, is entrusted with too much power and privilege, corruption naturally generates around him. The chief magistracy of the United States is such a situation. His offices of honor, profit, and trust in this gift are too many, with his power as commander-in-chief of the American army. Although our present president be a patriot, yet I would not trust even a patriot with unnecessary power, nor would I wish it, because "strong temptations with the best prevail." Suppose an ambitious man, like Bonaparte, or an artful, enterprizing man, like Aaron Burr, and the said army to be augmented to two hundred thousand regulars, attached to their chief: would the liberties of the people be in no danger in such an event? "But," says one, "at the next presidential election, if he is an ambitious man, we will cashier him." But shall we have this opportunity? Remember Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte, and be wise. In four years, especially in time of war or anarchy, an ambitious man may have many opportunities to subvert the liberties of the republic.

Who, that has a drop of benevolent blood flowing through his veins, can behold with indifference, or without regret, the present wretched state of this wretched world? and all through the neglect, servility, stupidity, and imbecility of the people, and the cruelty and usurpation of their super-inhuman kings. What but the most unaccountable infatuation, or criminal inattention on the part of a populous nation, could enable one man (and that man a knave or a fool, and perhaps both) to enslave, to oppress, to destroy them, by war abroad or privation at home? Alas! how sad a sight is an army of two hundred and fifty thousand conscripts, violently forced from their weeping relatives at the nod of an imperial villain, and commanded to march, contrary to their interests and inclinations, to a foreign clime, to kill and be killed by those who

never injured them; wretches as miserable as themselves. The catastrophe is too tragical for the eye of humanity to behold, or the ear of philanthropy to hear. Cities, towns, villages, and hamlets in flames, while their miserable inhabitants perish with cold and hunger; and the troops which were the cause of all this devastation are, with their warlike steeds, slaughtered by tens of thousands, and prematurely perish on a foreign land, and sprinkle the snow-white fields with human blood. All this is but a faint glimpse of the horrors of monarchy and ecclesiastical power, which are the illegitimate offspring of indolence and baseness in the people, who patiently suffer themselves to be enslaved by a fellow-worm, as weak and more wicked than themselves.

Those who really believe the Scriptures, as I do, would read it with trembling, if they saw what I now see with my mental eyes, and once saw or had an opportunity to see with my bodily eyes, in many nations, kingdoms, cities, towns and states, in different parts of the world, among the Russians, Prussians, Danes, Swedes, Dutch, French, Spaniards, English, South American, Norwegians, &c. In all these places, particularly in Europe, I solemnly declare, with pain and regret, to the best of my candid and impartial opinion, the whole system of civilization was, and I fear is, one mighty, monstrous, deleterious chaos of systematic swindling, legal chicanery, popular peculation, political monopoly, royal tyranny, right honorable knavery, and right reverend imposition, from miniature to magnitude; from the monarch with his sceptre, to the constable with his mace; from the boasting banker, to the peddling pawn-broker; and I am sorry to see, and say we are rapidly approximating to the same state of political, religious, and moral corruption. Among the causes are ardent spirits and chartered monopolies.

The national authorities receive from all importers and manufacturers of alcohol a tax, or, if you please, duties, at a certain rate per cent, ad valorem. Let the temperance societies simultaneously petition the national legislature to raise those duties so that ardent spirits may be rendered a medicine, as it used to be. They will thus accomplish, in the short run, by an enlightening and overwhelming petition, what I fear they never will accomplish in the long run, by individual persuasion.

The National and State Legislatures, by raising the duties on ardent spirits to ten dollars a gallon, (thus making it a medicine as it used to be, and not a deadly poison to about forty-five thousand people in this country every year, as it now is,) would save multitudes from degradation here, and destruction hereafter. To contrast the present and antecedent state of society in this country, in the words of my kind patron, the great Dr. Rush;

"Some of you may remember the time, and our fathers have told those of us who do not, when the diseases of Pennsylvania were as few and as simple as those of the Indians. The food of the inhabitants was then simple; their only drink was water; their appetites were restrained by labor; private hospitality supplied the want of public hospitals, &c."

"[*The Medical remedy for Intemperance*, used by Dr. Loiseau of New Orleans and Dr. Chambers of New York, was in substance as follows: To a mixture of Ipecacuanha and asafœtida, add two or three grains of tartar emetic: take a portion of this compound in a glass of the favorite liquor every morning for a week. This remedy by exciting a nauseous association, proved efficacious in many cases *for a time;* but the most important point is to mitigate the intolerable habitual craving for drink, by substituting the milder kinds of beverage, as pure water, lemonade, water mixed with molasses and ginger, or, with molasses and vinegar (called switchel,) coffee, tea, fruit, &c, and in no case stronger drinks than cider, mild beer, or light wine."] *New York papers.*

Another evil which has a direct tendency to undermine the foundation of our happy form of government, and which in fact, was one great cause of the premature annihilation of other republics, is A MONIED ARISTOCRACY. This is increased by the banking system being pushed to an extreme, and the unnecessary and impolitic multiplication of banks in this free country: because overgrown wealth is power, and materially produces undue influence, political prostitution, moral corruption and systematic swindling.

Every bank issues, say double, or perhaps treble of the amount of its stock paid in. Bankers are consequently and constantly enriched, and the industrious, ingenious, enterprising community greatly impoverished thereby; the profit and

loss is reciprocated inversely, i. e. what the first gains the other loses.

Were the legislators and bankers to obey the following lesson, written by the finger of God, our glorious Creator and Redeemer, in the book of creation, which is open to demonstrate his paternal care and beneficence, his sovereign beauty and perfections, as well as his infinite power and wisdom, "Learn from my kindness to you all, to be kind to one another," and had all bankers and republican legislators learned and practised that one simple, obvious lesson for the last forty years, our population would be now increased to twenty-four millions, rapidly approaching toward the Pacific Ocean, not a slave in our paradisical Republic, and millions who are now in slavery in Europe would be free, happy and independent in this boasted "*Land of the free, and home of the brave.*" To effect a radical reform, the net profits of all the banks should be paid into the state treasuries.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

"Men in a state of simplicity, uncorrupted by the influence of bad education, bad examples, and bad government, possesses capacity for all that is good and beautiful. He is capable of a degree of moral and intellectual improvement, which advances his nature to a participation with the divine. The world in all its magnificence, appears to him one vast theatre, richly adorned and illuminated, into which he is freely admitted to enjoy the glorious spectacle. Acknowledging no *natural* superior, but the great architect of the whole fabric, he partakes the delight with conscious dignity, and glows with gratitude. Pleased with himself and all around him, his heart dilates with benevolence, as well as piety; and he finds his joys augmented by communication. His countenance cheerful, his mien erect, he rejoices in existence. Life is a continual feast to him, highly seasoned by virtue, by liberty and mutual affection. God formed him to be happy and he becomes so, thus fortunately unmolested by false policy and oppression. Religion, reason, nature, are his guides through the whole of his existence, and the whole is happy. VIRTUOUS INDEPENDENCE, the sun, which irradiates the morning of his day, warms its noon, tinges the serene evening with every beautiful variety of color, and on the pillow of religious hope, he sinks to repose in the bosom of Providence.

But where is man to be found, thus noble, thus innocent, thus happy? Wherever the rights of nature, and the virtues of simplicity are not violated or banished by the false refinements, the base artifices of corrupted government.

Unhappily for man, society has been almost universally corrupted, even by the arts intended for its improvement; and human nature is gradually depraved in its very progress

to civilization. Metamorphosed by the tampering of unskilful or dishonest politicians, and the craft of interested priests, co-operating with politicians, MAN at present appears, in many countries, a diminutive and distorted animal, compared with what he was in his primeval state. He has become the dwarf and the cripple of courts and cities, instead of the well-formed, beautiful creature, who once bounded in the glory of health and strength, over the forest and the mountain, glowing with the warmth of virtue, and breathing the spirit of independence.

"Various are the causes which contribute to the factitious depravity of man. Defective and erroneous education corrupts him; the prevalent examples of a degenerate community corrupt him; but bad government corrupts him more than all other causes combined. The grand adversary of human virtue and happiness is DESPOTISM. Look over the surface of the whole earth, and behold man, the glory and deputed lord of the creation, withering under the influence of despotism, like the plant of temperate climes scorched by the sun of a torrid zone. The leaf is sickly, the blossom dares not expand its beauty, and no fruit arrives at its just size and maturity.

"Turkey, Italy, Egypt! how changed from what ye were when inhabited by ancient Greeks, Romans, Egyptians! Nature, indeed, still smiles upon them with unaltered favor. The blue mantle of the skies is still spread over them in all its luminous magnificence. There is no reason to suppose the earth less fertile. The corn laughs in the valleys. The tree aspires to Heaven with all its original verdure and majesty. But MAN decays; withered, shrunk, enervated; a form without spirit, an animal less happy than the beasts of the field, and more ignoble, inasmuch as degeneracy is baser than native, original, created inferiority. Fallen with the columnar ruins of better times, over which, in these countries, he often tramples, MAN himself appears little better than a ruin, displaying all the deformity of the mouldering pile, with scarcely any vestige of its former magnificence.

"*Government* (so called) has counteracted the beneficence of nature. The MEN are fallen; while the human figures, with their internal and external organization, continue yet, in a great measure, the same. They are inactive and pusillan-

imous. They aspire at no extraordinary excellence or achievements, but crouch beneath their despot, glad of the poor privilege allowed them by a fellow-creature, as weak and more wicked than themselves, to eat, drink, sleep, and die. Any pre-eminent degree of merit among them would render the distinguished possessor of it fatally illustrious, the certain object of a tyrant's vengeance; and they find their best security in their want of virtue. By a voluntary submission to contempt, they retain and transmit the privilege of breathing, and build the bulwark of their safety on their personal insignificance.

"Fear must, of necessity, become the predominant passion in all countries subject to the uncontrolled dominion of an individual and his ministers: but fear chills the blood and freezes the faculties. Under its icy influence there can arise no generous emulation, no daring spirit of adventure. Enterprise is considered as dangerous, not merely from the general casualty of all human affairs, but because it excites notice, and alarms the jealousy of selfish power. Under a despotic government, to steal through life unobserved, to creep, with timid caution, through the vale of obscurity, is the first wisdom; and to be suffered to die in old age, without the prison, the chain, the dagger, or the poisoned bowl, is the highest pitch of human felicity.

"Ignorance of the grossest kind, ignorance of man's nature and rights, ignorance of all that tends to make and keep us happy, disgraces and renders wretched more than half the earth, at this moment, in consequence of its subjugation to despotic power. Ignorance, robed in imperial purple, with Pride and Cruelty by her side, sways an iron sceptre over nearly both hemispheres. In the finest and largest regions of this planet which we inhabit, are no liberal pursuits and professions, no contemplative delights, nothing of that pure, intellectual employment which raises man from the mire of sensuality and sordid care, to a degree of excellence and dignity which we conceive to be angelic and celestial. Without knowledge, or the means of obtaining it; without exercise or excitements, the mind falls into a state of infantine imbecility and dotage, or acquires a low cunning, intent only on selfish and mean pursuits, such as is visible in the more ignoble of the irrational creatures—in foxes, apes, and

monkeys. Among nations so corrupted, the utmost effort of genius is a court intrigue or a ministerial cabal.

"A degradation of the understanding, like this, is usually accompanied with depravity of heart. From an inability to find pleasure and honorable employment in the energies of thought, in noble and virtuous actions, in refined conversation, in arts, in commerce, in learning, arises a mischievous activity in trifles, a perversion of nature, a wantonness of wickedness, productive of flagitious habits, which renders the partaker of reason the most despicable and detestable animal in the whole circle of existence. Thus sunk under the pressure of despotism, who can recognize, notwithstanding the human shape they bear, the lineal descendants of Egyptian, Grecian, Roman worthies, the glory of their times, the luminaries of their own country and the world, the instructors and benefactors of human nature? Thus the image of the Deity, stamped on man at his creation, is defiled or utterly effaced by government, instituted and exercised by man over his fellow-man; and his kindred to Heaven is known no more by the divine resemblance. A bad government is therefore the curse of the earth, the scourge of man, the grand obstacle to the divine will, the most copious source of all moral evil, and for that reason, of all misery; but of bad governments, none are comparable, in their mischievous effects, to the despotic.

"But if despotism in its *extreme* produces consequences thus malignant, reason will infer, and experience will justify the inference, that all the *subordinate degrees* of despotism are proportionably destructive. However it may be disguised by forms, it is ever seeking its own increase and aggrandizement, by openly crushing or secretly undermining the fabric of liberty: it is ever encroaching on the privileges and enjoyments of those who are subjected to it; greedily, though foolishly, wishing to engross every good of every kind in this sublunary state, except the good of virtue.

"Power, though *limited* by written laws, in the hands of mortal men, poorly educated, and surrounded by sycophants and flatterers, who wish, by partaking the power, to partake also of its profits and distinctions, and thus gratify at once their pride and avarice, is always endeavouring to extend itself *beyond the limitations;* and requires to be watched with the most jealous eye, by all who are subject to it, and to be

restrained within its bounds by the manifest efforts, and the most determined resolution of virtue. Every engine of artifice and terror will be used to repress such virtue: but the friend of man and of his country will defy persecution, fines, imprisonment, and death, in attempting, by every lawful and rational means, to push back the gigantic strides of encroaching despotism, more destructive of happiness than an earthquake or a pestilence. A country deserves no love, when it ceases to be a country of liberty. Human beings constitute a country, and not a soil in a certain latitude; and an attachment to liberty is the truest patriotism.

"It is therefore highly expedient, whenever a people, free by law and constitution, appear in the *smallest degree* to remit their attention to the preservation of freedom, to urge them, by the most serious admonition, to an immediate resumption of their vigilance. While they slumber and sleep, lulled by the Circean cup of corruption, the enemy is awake, and busily making his insidious approaches to the citadel. Every inch of ground, they carelessly relinquish, is eagerly seized by the covetous possessor of dominion; the love of which, like the love of money, increases by accession. Nor are there ever wanting numbers of artful men, who stimulate a weak or a wicked ruler in his encroachments; sensible as they are, that their own power and privileges will be augmented with those of said ruler, whose exclusive favour they have gained by sycophantic arts, and by co-operations in the fallacious service of enlarging his power. The more the power of the ruler is augmented, the greater will be the emoluments of office. In the view of American, as well as European tories, a star shines with higher lustre, a riband displays a brighter hue, a title soothes the ear with sweeter music, when conferred by a mighty potentate far exalted above vulgar control, and who holds his power *in contempt of the people*. If kings can be once elevated to the rank of Heaven's vicegerents, how must admiring plebians idolize their choice favours and their prime favourites? There is always, therefore, a set of men (to whom pomp and vanity are the chief good) who are continually endeavouring to add glory and greatness to the orb from which they derive their own lustre. Moons and satellites would shine faintly indeed, unless the sun of the system glittered with intolerable efful-

gence. If the sun were shorn of its beams, their native opaqueness would pass without notice.

"Natural rights are those which appertain to men, in right of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the natural rights of others.—Civil rights are those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right has for foundation, some natural right pre-existing in the individual, but to the enjoyment of which his individual power is not, in all cases, sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to security and protection.

"From this short review, it will be easy to distinguish between that class of natural rights which man retains after entering into society, and those which he throws into the common stock as a member of society.

"The natural rights which he retains, are all those in which the *power* to execute is as perfect in the individual as the right itself. Among this class, as is before-mentioned, are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind: consequently, religion is one of those rights. The natural rights which are not retained, are all those in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the power to execute them is defective. They answer not this purpose. A man, by natural right, has a right to judge in his own cause; and so far as the right of the mind is concerned, he never surrenders it: but what availeth it him to judge, if he has not the power to redress? He therefore deposits this right in the common stock of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society *grants* him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.

"From these premises, two or three certain conclusions will follow.

"First, That every civil right grows out of a natural right; or, in other words, is a natural right enchanged, (or extended.)

"Secondly, That civil power, properly considered as such, is made up of the aggregate of that class of the natural rights of man, which becomes defective in the individual in point of power, and answers not his purpose; but when collected to a focus, becomes competent to the purpose of every one.

"Thirdly, That the power produced from the aggregate of natural rights, (imperfect in power in the individual,) cannot be applied to invade the natural rights which are retained in the individual, and in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itself.

"We have now, in a few words, traced man from a natural individual to a member of society, and shown, or endeavoured to show, the quality of the natural rights retained, and of those which are exchanged for civil rights. Let us now apply these principles to governments.

"In casting our eyes over the world, it is extremely easy to distinguish the governments which have arisen out of society, or out of the social compact, from those which have not: but to place this in a clearer light than what a single glance may afford, it will be proper to take a review of the several sources from which governments have arisen and on which they have been founded.

"They may all be comprehended under three heads. First, Superstition. Secondly, Power. Thirdly, The common interest of society, and the common rights of man.

"The first was a government of priestcraft, the second of conquerors, and the third of reason.

"When a set of artful men pretended, through the medium of oracles, to hold intercourse with the Deity, as familiarly as they now march up the back-stairs in European courts, the world was completely under the government of superstition. The oracles were consulted, and whatever they were made to say, became the law; and this sort of government lasted as long as this sort of superstiton lasted.

"After these a race of conquerors arose, whose government, like that of William the Conquerer, was founded in power, and the sword assumed the name of a sceptre. Governments thus established, last as long as the power to support them lasts; but that they might avail themselves of every engine in their favour, they united fraud to force, and set up an idol which they called *Divine Right*, and which in imitation of the Pope, who affects to be spiritual and temporal, and in contradiction to the founder of the Christian religion, twisted itself afterwards into an idol of another shape, called *Church and State*. The key of St. Peter, and the key of the Treasury, became quartered on one an-

other, and the wondering, cheated multitude, worshipped the invention.

"When I contemplate the natural dignity of man; when I feel (for nature has not been kind enough to me to blunt my feelings) for his honor and happiness, I become irritated at the attempt to govern mankind by force and fraud, as if they were all knaves and fools, and can scarcely avoid disgust at those who are thus imposed upon.

"We have now to review the governments which arise out of society, in contradistinction to those which arose out of superstition and conquest.

"It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principles of freedom to say, that government is a compact between those who govern and those who are governed: but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for, as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with. The fact therefore must be, that the *individuals themselves*, each in his own personal and sovereign right, *entered into a compact with each other* to produce a government; and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.

"To possess ourselves of a clear idea of what government is, or ought to be, we must trace it to its origin. In doing this, we shall easily discover that governments must have arisen, either *out* of the people, or *over* the people. Mr. Burke has made no distinction. He investigates nothing to its source, and therefore he confounds every thing; but he has signified his intention of undertaking, at some future opportunity, a comparison between the constitutions of England and France. As he thus renders it a subject of controversy, by throwing the gauntlet, I take him upon his own ground. It is in high challenges that high truths have the right of appearing; and I accept it with the more readiness because it affords me, at the same time, an opportunity of pursuing the subject with respect to governments arising out of society.

"But it will be first necessary to define what is meant by a *constitution*. It is not sufficient that we adopt the word: we must fix also a standard signification to it.

"A constitution is not a thing in name only, but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real existence; and whenever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. A constitution is a thing *antecedent* to a government, and a government is only the creature of a constitution. The constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people constituting a government. It is the body of elements, to which you can refer, and quote article by article, and which contains the principles on which the government shall be established, the manner in which it shall be organized, the powers it shall have, the mode of elections, the duration of parliaments, or by what other name such bodies may be called; the powers which the executive part of the government shall have; and, in fine, every thing that relates to the complete organization of a civil government, and the principles on which it shall act, and by which it shall be bound. A constitution, therefore, is to a government, what the laws made afterwards by that government are to a court of judicature. The court of judicature does not make the laws, neither can it alter them. It only acts in conformity to the laws made, and the government is, in like manner, governed by the constitution."

"Toleration is not the *opposite* of intolerance, but is the *counterfeit* of it. Both are despotisms. The one assumes to itself the right of withholding liberty of conscience, and the other of granting it. The one is the pope, armed with fire and faggot, and the other is the selling or granting indulgences. The former is church and state, and the latter is church and traffic.

"But toleration may be viewed in a much stronger light. Man worships not himself, but his Maker; and the liberty of conscience which he claims is not for the service of himself, but of his God. In this case, therefore, we must necessarily have the associated idea of two beings: the *mortal* who renders the worship, and the *Immortal Being* who is worshipped. Toleration, therefore, places itself, not between man and man, nor between church and church, nor between one denomination of religion and another, but between God and man; between the being who worships, and the Being who is worshipped; and by the same act of assumed authority by

which it tolerates man to pay his worship, it presumptuously and blasphemously sets itself up to tolerate the Almighty to receive it.

"Were a bill brought into any parliament, entitled, 'An Act to tolerate or grant liberty to the Almighty to receive the worship of a Jew or a Turk, or prohibit the Almighty from receiving it,' all men would startle, and call it blasphemy. There would be an uproar. The presumption of toleration in religious matters would then present itself unmasked; but the presumption is not less because the name of 'man' only appears to those laws, for the associated idea of the *worshipper* and the *worshipped* cannot be separated. Who, then, art thou, vain dust and ashes! by whatever name thou art called—whether a king, a bishop, a church or a state, a parliament, or any thing else, that obtrudest thine insignificance between the soul of man and its Maker? Mind thine own concerns. If he believes not as thou believest, it is a proof that thou believest not as he believeth, and there is no earthly power can determine between you.

"With respect to what are called denominations of religion, if every one is left to judge of their own religion, there is no such thing as a religion that is wrong; but if they are to judge of each others religion, there is no such a thing as a religion that is right, and therefore all the world is right, or all the world is wrong. But with respect to religion itself, without regard to names, and as directing itself from the universal family of mankind to the Divine object of all adoration, *it is man bringing to his Maker the fruits of his heart*; and though those fruits may differ from each other, like the fruits of the earth, the grateful tribute of every one is accepted.

"A bishop of Durham, or a bishop of Winchester, or the archbishop who heads the dukes, will not refuse a tythe-sheaf of wheat because it is not a cock of hay, nor a cock of hay because it is not a sheaf of wheat, nor a pig because it is neither one nor the other; but these same persons, under the figure of an established church, will not permit their Maker to receive the varied tythes of man's devotion."

"It is attributed to Henry the Fourth, of France, a man of an enlarged and benevolent heart, that he proposed, about the year 1610, a plan for abolishing war in Europe. The

plan consisted in constituting an European Congress, or, as the French author styles it, a Pacific Republic, by appointing delegates from the several nations, who were to act as a court of arbitration in any disputes that might arise between nation and nation.

"Had such a plan been adopted at the time it was proposed, the taxes of England and France, as two of the parties, would have been at least ten millions sterling annually to each nation less than they were at the commencement of the French Revolution.

"To conceive a cause why such a plan has not been adopted, (and that instead of a congress for the purpose of *preventing* war, it has been called only to *terminate* a war, after a fruitless expense of several years,) it will be necessary to consider the interest of governments as a distinct interest to that of nations.

"Whatever is the cause of taxes to a nation, becomes also the means of revenue to a government. Every war terminates with an addition of taxes, and consequently with an addition of revenue; and in any event of war, in the manner they are now commenced and concluded, the power and interest of governments are increased. War, therefore, from its productiveness, as it easily furnishes the pretence of necessity for taxes and appointments to places and offices, becomes a principal part of the system of old governments; and to establish any mode to abolish war, however advantageous it might be to nations, would be to take from such governments the most lucrative of its branches. The frivolous matters upon which war is made, show the disposition and avidity of governments to uphold the system of war, and betray the motives upon which they act."

"Many, who have arisen to high elevation of rank or fortune, seem to think that their nature has undergone a real metamorphosis; that they are refined by a kind of chemical process, sublimed by the sunshine of royal favor, and separated from the feces, the dross, and the dregs of ordinary humanity—that humanity of which the mass of mankind partake, and which, imperfect as it is, God created. They seem to themselves raised to a pinnacle, from which they behold, with sentiments of indifference or contempt, all two-legged

and unfeathered beings of inferior order, placed in the vale, as ministers of their pride and slaves of their luxury, or else burdens of the earth, and *superfluous sharers* of existence.

"The endeavor of their lives, never employed in the essential service of society, is to keep the vulgar at a distance, lest their own pure nature should be contaminated by the foul contagion. Their offspring must be taught, in the first instance, to know and revere, not God, not man, but their own rank in life. The infants are scarcely suffered to breathe the common air, to feel the common sun, or to walk upon the common earth. Immured in nurseries till the time for instruction arrives, they are then surrounded by a variety of domestic tutors. And what is the first object in their education? Is it the improvement of their minds, the acquisition of manly sentiment, useful knowledge, expanded ideas, piety, philanthropy? No; it is the embellishment of their persons, an accurate attention to dress, to their teeth, to grace in dancing, attitude in standing, uprightness; not the uprightness of the heart, but the formal and unnatural perpendicularity of a soldier drilled on the parade. The first object with the pupil, and the last, the lesson to be got by heart, and to be repeated by night and by day, is an adequate conception of his own native consequence, a disposition to extend the influence of rank and riches, and to depress and discourage the natural tendency of personal merit to rise to distinction by its own elastic force.

"Their masters themselves are to be dependent on the caprice of wealthy pupils, or a rebellion may ensue. Such an event, indeed, is sometimes devoutly wished, as it affords opportunities for *embryo heroes* to show their prowess and their *noble* pride. Every ebullition of spirits, as it is candidly called, displaying itself in insolence or ill usage of the inferior ranks—defenceless old men or women, and the poor in general—is remembered and cherished with care, as a flattering prognostic of future eminence in the cabinet, the senate, at the bar, or in the field. Justice, generosity, humility, are words, indeed, in the Dictionary, and may adorn a declamation; but insolence, extravagance, and pride, must mark the conduct of those who are sent, rather to support the dignity of native grandeur by the spirit of arrogance, than to seek wisdom and virtue with the docility of modest and ingenuous

disciples. Practical oppression of inferiors is one of the first elements of aristocratical education, and the order of *Faggs* (as they are called) contributes much to famil' ize the exercise of future despotism. Mean submissions prepare the mind, in its turn, to tyrannize."

"Those who are possessed of exorbitant power, who pant for its extension, and tremble at the apprehension of losing it, are always sufficiently artful to dwell with emphasis on the evils of licentiousness, under which opprobrious name they wish to stigmatize liberty. They describe the horrors of anarchy and confusion in the blackest colors, and boldly affirm that they are the necessary consequences of intrusting the people with power. Indeed, they hardly condescend to recognize the idea of a PEOPLE; but, whenever they speak of the mass of the community, denominate them the mob, the rabble, or the swinish multitude. Language is at a loss for appellatives, significant of their contempt for those who are undistinguished by wealth or titles, and is obliged to content itself with such words as reptiles, scum, dregs, or the many-headed monster.

"Man, that noble animal, formed with powers capable of the sublimest virtues, possessed of reason, and tremulously alive to every finer feeling, is degraded by his fellow-man, when dressed in a little brief authority, to a rank below that of the beast of the field; for the beasts of the field are not treated with epithets of contumely, but regarded with a degree of esteem. The proud grandee views the horses in his stable, and the dogs in his kennel, with affection, pampers them with food, lodges them in habitations, not only commodious, but luxurious; and, at the same time, despises his fellow-creatures, scarcely fed, wretchedly clothed, and barely sheltered in the neighboring cottage. And if his fellow-creature dares to remonstrate, his complaint is contumacy and sedition, and his endeavor to meliorate his own state and that of his miserable neighbor, by the most lawful means, downright treason and rebellion.

"Villainous oppression on one hand, and, on the other, contemptible submission! If such acquiescence, under the most iniquitous inequality; such wretchedness, without the privilege of complaint, is the peace, the order, and the tran-

quillity of despotism; then peace, order, and tranquillity change their nature, and become the curse and bane of human nature. Welcome, in comparison, all the feuds, animosities, and revolutions attributed to a state of freedom, for they are symptoms of life and robust health, while the repose of despotism is the deadness of a palsy. Life, active, enterprising life, with all its tumult, disaster, and disappointment, is to be preferred to the silence of death, the stillness of desolation.

"But I deny that a love of liberty, or a state of liberty, is, of necessity, productive of any injurious or fatal disorder. I presuppose that the minds of the people, even the lowest of the people, are duly enlightened; that the savageness of gross ignorance is mitigated by culture—by that culture which all well-regulated states are solicitous to bestow on every partaker of the rational faculty.

"In a state of liberty, every man learns to value himself as man; to consider himself as of importance in the system which himself has approved and contributed to establish, and therefore resolves to regulate his own behavior consistently with its safety and preservation. He feels as a proprietor, not as a tenant. He loves the state because he participates in it. His obedience is not the cold, reluctant result of terror, but the lively, cheerful, and spontaneous effect of love. The violation of laws formed on the pure principle of general beneficence, and to which he has given his full assent by a just and perfect representation, he considers as a crime of the deepest dye. He will think freely, and speak freely, of the constitution. He will incessantly endeavor to improve it, and enter seriously into all political debates. In the collision of agitated minds sparks will sometimes be emitted, but they will only give a favorable light and a genial warmth. They will never produce any injurious conflagration.

"But I repeat that the people should be enlightened, in every rank, the highest as well as the lowest, to render them capable of perfect liberty, without danger of those evils which its enemies are always asserting to be its unavoidable consequences. The vulgar must be instructed not merely in the arts which tend to the acquisition, increase, and preservation of money, but in a generous philosophy. They must be liberalized. They must early learn to view human life and society in their just light; to consider themselves as essential

parts of a whole, the integrity of which is desirable to every component member. Their taste will improve with their understanding; and they will see the beauty of order, while they are convinced of its utility. Thus principled by virtue, and illuminated with knowledge, they will eagerly return, after every deviation, which even a warmth of virtue may cause, to regular obedience, and to all the functions of citizens; valuing the public peace and prosperity, because they understand clearly that the public happiness is intimately combined with their own. They may infringe laws, from the imperfection of their nature; but they will return to their obedience without force, having been convinced that no laws are made but such as are necessary to their well-being in society. They will consider laws, not as chains and fetters, but as helmets and shields for their protection. The light of the understanding will correct the eccentricities of the heart; and all deviations, however rapid at their commencement, will be short in extent and transitory in duration.

"Such would be the effect of enlightening the people with political knowledge, and enlarging their minds by pure philosophy. But what say the despots? Like the tyrannical son of Philip, when he reprimanded Aristotle for publishing his Discoveries, they whisper to their myrmidons, 'Let us diffuse darkness round the land. Let the people be kept in a brutal state. Let their conduct, when assembled, be riotous and irrational as ignorance and *our* SPIES can make it, that they may be brought into discredit, and deemed unfit for the management of their own affairs. Let power be rendered dangerous in their hands, that it may continue unmolested in our own. Let them not taste the fruit of the tree of knowledge, lest they become as we are, and learn to know good and evil.' 'Darken your doctrines,' said the despot Alexander to the great philosopher.

"That such are the sentiments of the men who wish for the extension of royalism or aristocracy, and the depression of the people, is evident from the uneasiness they have shown at all benevolent attempts to diffuse knowledge among the poor. They have expressed, in terms of anger and mortification, their dislike of Sunday schools. The very newspapers which they have engaged in the service of falsehood and toryism, have endeavored to discountenance, by malignant

paragraphs, the progress of those patriotic institutions. Scribblers of books and pamphlets, in the same vile cause, have intimated their apprehensions that the poor may learn to read political books in learning to read their Bible, and that the reading of political books must unavoidably produce discontent. A wretched compliment to the cause which they mean to defend! It is impossible not to infer from their apprehensions, that as men increase in understanding and knowledge, they must see reason to disapprove the systems established. These men breathe the very spirit of despotism, and wish to communicate it. But their conduct, in this instance, is an argument against the spirit which they endeavor to diffuse. Their conduct seems to say, The spirit of despotism is so unreasonable, that it can never be approved by the mass of the people when their reason is suffered to receive its proper cultivation. Their conduct seems to say, Let there be light, and the deformity of despotism will create abhorrence.

"Be the consequence what it may, let the light of knowledge be diffused among all who partake of reason; and let us remember that it was the Lord God Almighty who first said, 'LET THERE BE LIGHT.'"

"There is nothing which I can so reluctantly pardon in the *great ones* of this world, as the little value they entertain for the life of a man. Property, if seized or lost, may be restored; and, without property, man may enjoy a thousand delightful pleasures of existence. The sun shines as warmly on the poor as on the rich, and the gale of health breathes its balsam into the cottage casement on the heath no less sweetly and salubriously than into the portals of the palace; but can the lords of this world, who are so lavish of the lives of their inferiors, with all their boasted power, give the cold heart to beat again, or relume the light of the eye once dimmed by the shades of death? Accursed despots, show me your authority for taking away that which ye never gave, and cannot give; for undoing the work of God, and extinguishing the lamp of life which was illuminated with a ray from heaven. Where is your charter to privilege murder? You do the work of Satan, who was a destroyer; and your right, if you possess any, must have originated from the father of mischief and misery.

"Yet take a view of the world, and you will immediately be led to conclude that scarcely any thing is viler than human life. Crimes which have very little moral evil, if any, and which, therefore, cannot incur the vengeance of a just and merciful Deity, are punished with death at a human tribunal. I mean state crimes—such actions, conduct, speeches, as are made crimes by despots, but are not recognized as such in the decalogue; such as may proceed from the purest and most virtuous principle, from the most enlarged benevolence, from wisdom and unaffected patriotism; such as may proceed from mere warmth of temper, neither intending nor accomplishing any mischief; the mere effects of error, as innocent, too, in its consequences as its origin. But the despot is offended or frightened; for guilt trembles at the least alarm, and nothing but the blood of the accused can expiate the offence.

"Yet, numerous as are the innocent victims of the tribunal, where to offend the state is the greatest abomination that man can commit, they are lost and disappear when compared to the myriads sacrificed to the demon of war. Despotism delights in war. It is its element. As the bull knows, by instinct, that his strength is in his horns, and the eagle trusts in his talons, so the despot feels his puissance most when surrounded by soldiery arrayed for battle. With the sword in his hand, and his artillery around him, he rejoices in his might and glories in his greatness. Blood must mark his path; and his triumph is incomplete till death and destruction stalk over the land, the harbingers of his triumphant cavalcade.

"We hear much of necessary wars; but it is certainly true, that a real, absolute, unavoidable necessity for war, such as alone can render it just, has seldom occurred in the history of man. The pride, the wanton cruelty of absolute princes, caring nothing for human life, have, in all ages, without the least necessity, involved the world in war; and therefore it is the common duty of all mankind to abolish absolute power, and to discourage, by every lawful means, the spirit that leads to any degree of it. No individual, however good, is fit to be trusted with so dangerous a deposit. His goodness may be corrupted by the magnitude of the trust; and it is the nature of power, uncontrolled by fear or law, to vitiate the best dispositions. He who would have shuddered to spill a drop of

blood in a hostile contest, as a private man, shall deluge whole provinces, as an absolute prince, and laugh over the subjugated plains which he has fertilized with human gore.

"What are the chief considerations with such men, previously to going to war and at its conclusion? Evidently the expense of MONEY. Little is said or thought of the lives lost, or devoted to be lost, except as matters of *pecuniary* value. Humanity, indeed, weeps in silence and solitude in the sequestered shade of private life; but is a single tear shed in courts, and camps, and cabinets? When men high in command, men of fortune and family, fall, their deeds are blazoned, and they figure in history; but who, save the poor widow and the orphan, inquire after the very names of the rank and file? There they lie, a mass of human flesh, not so much regretted by the despots as the horses they rode, or the arms they bore. While ships often go down to the bottom, struck by the iron thunderbolts of war, and not a life is saved, the national loss is estimated by the despot according to the weight of metal wasted, and the magnitude and expense of the wooden castle.

"God, we read, made man in his own image, and our Saviour taught us that he was the heir of immortality. God made no distinction of persons; but behold a being, born to a sceptre, though a poor, puny, shivering mortal like the rest, presumes to sell, and let out for hire, these images of God, to do the work of butchers, in any cause and for any paymaster, on any number of unoffending fellow-creatures, who are standing up in defence of their hearths, their altars, their wives, their children, and their liberty. Great numbers of men, trained to the trade of human butchery, are constantly ready to be let to hire, to carry on the work of despotism, and to support, by the money they earn in this hellish employment, the luxurious vices of the wretch who calls them his property. Can that state of human affairs be right and proper which permits a miscreant, scarcely worthy the name of a man, sunk in effeminacy, the slave of vice—often the most abominable kind of vice—ignorant and illiterate, debilitated with disease, weak in body as in mind, to have such dominion of hundreds of thousands, his superiors by nature, as to let them out for pay, to murder the innocent stranger in cold blood?

"What shall we think of the practice of what is called kidnapping? Is it to be allowed in a free country? Are not men bought, inveigled, or forced by it, as if they were cattle, beasts of the field or the forest, and capable of becoming the *property* of the purchaser or the captor? If a nation should behold with patience such a practice increasing and encouraged by the great, would there not be reason to suspect that it had lost the spirit of freedom, and was preparing to submit its neck to the yoke of despotism? Is not an African one of the images of God? Is he not entitled to all the rights of nature, and the society of which he is a member? Does poverty disfranchise a man, rob him of his rights, and render his *life* a commodity to be bought and sold, or thrown away, at the will of a rich man, who is enabled to take advantage of his want, and add to the misfortune of indigence the curse of slavery? Are a few pieces of silver to be allowed, by connivance if not by legal permission, as the price of blood, when poverty, but not the will, consents to the sale?

"Even if *boxing* were ever to become a spectacle patronized by Congress, and encouraged by a people, there would be reason to fear lest man, *as man*, had lost his value; lest life were estimated of little price; and lest the spirit of despotism were gradually insinuating itself into the community. There would be reason to fear lest times, like those of the latter Roman emperors, were returning, and that men might be kept like wild beasts, to be brought on the stage and fight for public diversion, and to be murdered for the evening's amusement of fashionable lords and ladies at an opera-house.

"The dignity of human nature, in despotical countries, is treated as a burlesque. A man is less dignified than a pampered horse, and his life infinitely less valued. But in a land of liberty, like ours, every man should learn to venerate himself and his neighbour, as a noble creature, dependent only on God, on reason, on law. Life, under such circumstances, is a pearl of great price. Every human being, under such circumstances, is of equal value in the sight of God. They, therefore, who, in consequence of civil elevation, hold any man's life cheap and vile, unless he has forfeited his rights by enormous crimes, are guilty of rebellion against God and nature."

"Men who undertake to defend any thing contrary to the common sense and common interest of mankind, may hurt the side they intend to defend by promoting a *discussion*, and calling forth common sense, excited by the common interest, to defend its own cause. Thus, Sir Robert Filmer's book gave rise both to Sidney's and Locke's Defence of Liberty. Thus, Mr. Burke's Reflections on France drew forth Mr. Paine's Rights of Man, in which is much excellent matter. Thus, Salmasius's mercenary invective against the republicans of England in the last century, provoked the great Milton, scarcely less eloquent in prose than in poetry, to defend the right of the people of England to manage in their own country their own concerns, according to their own judgment and inclination.

"Milton and Locke are great names on the side of liberty. But Milton has been treated contemptuously; and some have shown a spirit illiberal enough to detract from his poetry, in revenge for his politics. His last biographer, Dr. Johnson, who had many early prejudices which his most vigorous reason could not to the last subdue, was, by early prejudice, a violent Tory and Jacobite. I think there is reason to believe, that he would easily have been made a convert to popery. I venerate his abilities and virtues; but I cannot help remarking, that his high-church and high-prerogative principles led him to speak less honorably of Milton than he must have done if he had viewed him through a medium undiscolored. Milton was a greater man than Johnson, though I think he went not sufficiently far in his hatred to monarchy and episcopacy. Milton discovered a noble spirit of independence, and his writings contain some of the finest passages that ever were written in vindication of civil liberty. They contributed to raise that spirit which afterwards produced our happy revolution; and I have no doubt but that Milton would have rejoiced under the federal constitution of the United States. It is to writings and a spirit like his, mankind are indebted for liberty. If honest and able minds like Paine's and Milton's had not appeared on the part of the people, it is probable that no such thing as a republic would have been found on the face of the earth.

"Free spirits are therefore to be pardoned in some errors, which the propensity of human nature to err must ever ren-

der *venial*; and the [illegible] tendency of their writings to make the mass of mankind [illegible] and happy, ought to secure attention to their doctrines and honor to their names. The enemies to the spirit of despotism have seen, with pain, the attempts to lessen these great men in the eyes of the world extended to writers of less renown, but of more recent date. They have seen men, *good men in private life*, and philosophers, whose discourses and letters have gained the notice and esteem of every enlightened country, reproached, vilified, persecuted, and almost destroyed, because, in consequence of that fine understanding which had done so much in philosophy, they made some discoveries in politics which must forever militate powerfully against the spirit of despotism. Paine, Voltaire, Rosseau, Raynal, Price, Priestley, however different their characters, attainments, and abilities, are all vilified *together*, (because they have written admirably on the side of liberty,) all involved in one discriminate torrent of obloquy. The partizans of monarchy would persuade us, not only that they were knaves, but fools. Some of them have very exceptionable passages in their works; but where they treat of civil liberty, they plead the cause of human nature. They have not pleaded it unsuccessfully. Political artifices cannot always stifle truth and common sense.

"The independent part of mankind, who detest parties and faction, and mean nothing but the happiness of their fellow-creatures, will do well to be upon their guard against the misrepresentations of those who would vilify a Penn, a Locke, a Milton, and a Sidney. Let them read and judge for themselves. The men who are anxious to withhold or extinguish the light, may fairly be suspected of intending to do evil."

"Civil government does not consist in executions, but in making such provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, (and the necessitous,) as to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other. Hence the cogent necessity of public seminaries of learning being established in the United States by the national and state legislatures. Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, imposters, and prostitutes; and even the poor themselves, with

all their wants upon them, are compelled to support the fraud that oppresses them.

"Why is it that scarcely any are executed but the poor? The fact is a proof, among other things, of a wretchedness in their condition. Bred up without morals or information, and cast upon the world without a prospect, they are the exposed sacrifice of vice and legal barbarity. The millions that are superfluously wasted upon governments are more than sufficient to reform those evils, and to benefit the condition of every man in a nation, not included within the purlieus of a court."

"Man is a progressive animal, and his advance towards improvement is a pleasurable state. Hope cheers his path as he toils up the hill that leads him to something better than he has yet experienced, on its gay summit gilded with sunshine. The labor of the ascent is a delight. But if he cannot help conceiving, from a sense of grievances which he feels, something *excellent*, to which he is prohibited by coercion from approaching, hope sickens, and ill-humor succeeds to complacency. Hence arises a disagreement between the governed and governors; and the governors, being possessed of the present power, use force and rigor to stifle the rumors of complaint. Coercion but increases the ill-humor, which often lies latent, like the fires of a volcano, for a considerable time, but at last bursts forth with irresistible fury. It is wise, therefore, as well as just, in all governors who have a regard for any thing but their present and private interest, to encourage discussion, to seek improvement of the system, and to reject no reform proposed by great numbers without a cool, a temperate, and a long deliberation. The reasons for rejection should be clearly stated, with the utmost regard to open and ingenuous behavior; and those who remain unconvinced, after all, should not be treated with asperity. Every individual, in a free country, has a right to approve or disapprove the system under which he lives, without peril or control, while he preserves the peace. His peaceable deportment and acquiescence in the opinion of others, contrary to his own conviction, renders him a very meritorious character. He may be won over by gentleness, but force only tends to excite the violence which it would imperiously repel.

"But to tell a man of sense, reading, and reflection, that

he must not venture to entertain an opinion on political matters, or the existing government, different from that of the president, the consul, or the king, is an impotent endeavor to exercise a despotism over his mind against which nature revolts, and a manly spirit must rebel. Such a man can usually judge of governments, and all the institutions of social life, better than mere men of business, however high their rank or important their employments—far better than overgrown rich, occupied in vain ceremonies, and usually as little able as inclined to enter into deep disquisition.

"Despotism is so ugly in its form, and so hostile in its nature, to human happiness, that no wonder those who wish to diffuse its spirit are inclined to check and discourage among the people all political investigation. But let it be a rule among those who really value liberty and the rights of man, to use the more diligence in political discussion, in proportion as tories and traitors display a wish to suppress political writings and conversations, and disseminate the doctrine that things are so well constituted as neither to require nor admit any improvement. The representative system takes society and civilization for its basis, reason and experience for its guide.

"As this is the order of nature, the order of government must necessarily follow it, or government will, as we see it does, degenerate into ignorance. The hereditary system, therefore, is as repugnant to human wisdom as to human rights, and is as absurd as it is unjust.

"As the republic of letters brings forward the best literary productions, by giving to genius a fair and universal chance, so the representative system of government is calculated to produce the wisest laws, by collecting wisdom from where it can be found. I smile to myself when I contemplate the ridiculous insignificance into which literature and all the sciences would sink, were they made hereditary; and I carry the same idea into governments. An hereditary governor is as inconsistent as an hereditary author. I know not whether Homer or Euclid had sons; but I will venture an opinion, that if they had, and had left their works unfinished, those sons could not have completed them.

"Do we need a stronger evidence of the absurdity of hereditary government than is seen in the descendants of those

men, in any line of life, who once were famous? Is there scarcely an instance in which there is not a total reverse of the character? It appears as if the tide of mental faculties flowed as far as it could in certain channels, and then forsook its course and arose in others. How irrational, then, is the hereditary system which establishes channels of power, in company with which wisdom refuses to flow! By continuing this absurdity, man is perpetually in contradiction with himself. He accepts, for a king, or a chief magistrate, or a legislator, a person whom he would not elect for a constable.

"It appears, to general observation, that revolutions create genius and talents; but those events do no more than bring them forward. There is, existing in man, a mass of sense lying in a dormant state, and which, unless something excites it to action, will descend with him, in that condition, to the grave. As it is to the advantage of society that the whole of its faculties should be employed, the construction of government ought to be such as to bring forward, by a quiet and regular operation, all that extent of capacity which never fails to appear in revolutions.

"This cannot take place in the insipid state of hereditary government, not only because it prevents, but because it operates to benumb. When the mind of a nation is bowed down by any political superstition in its government, such as hereditary succession is, it loses a considerable portion of its powers on all other subjects and objects. Hereditary succession requires the same obedience to ignorance as to wisdom; and when once the mind can bring itself to pay this indiscriminate reverence, it descends below the stature of mental manhood. It is fit to be great only in little things. It acts a treachery upon itself, and suffocates the sensations that urge to detection."

"Great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of society, and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished. The mutual dependance and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landholder,

the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and every occupation, prospers by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole. Common interest regulates their concerns, and forms their law; and the laws which common usage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of government. In fine, society performs for itself almost every thing which is ascribed to government.

"To understand the nature and quantity of government proper for man, it is necessary to attend to his character. As nature created him for social life, she fitted him for the station she intended. In all cases she made his natural wants greater than his individual powers. No one man is capable, without the aid of society, of supplying his own wants; and those wants, acting upon every individual, impel the whole of them into society, as naturally as gravitation acts to a centre.

"But she has gone further. She has not only forced man into society, by a diversity of wants, which the reciprocal aid of each other can supply, but she has implanted in him a system of social affections, which, though not necessary to his existence, are essential to his happiness. There is no period in life when this love for society ceases to act. It begins and ends with our being.

"If we examine, with attention, into the composition and constitution of man, the diversity of his wants, and the diversity of talents in different men for reciprocally accommodating the wants of each other, his propensity to society, and consequently to preserve the advantages resulting from it, we shall easily discover that a great part of what is called government is mere imposition.

"Government is no farther necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent; and instances are not wanting to show, that every thing which government can usefully add thereto has been performed by the common consent of society, without government.

"For upwards of two years from the commencement of the American war, and for a longer period in several of the American states, there were no established forms of government. The old governments had been abolished, and the country was too much occupied in defence to employ its at-

tention in establishing new governments; yet, during this interval, order and harmony were preserved as inviolate as in any country in Europe. There is a natural aptness in man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resource to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in. The instant formal government is abolished, society begins to act. A general association takes place, and common interest produces common security.

"So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal government is the dissolution of society, that it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter the closer together. All that part of its organization which it had committed to its government devolves again upon itself, and acts through its medium. When men, as well from natural instinct as from reciprocal benefits, have habituated themselves to social and civilized life, there is always enough of its principles in practice to carry them through any changes they may find necessary or convenient to make in their government. In short, man is so naturally a creature of society, that it is almost impossible to put him out of it.

"Formal government makes but a small part of civilized life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea, than in fact. It is to the great and fundamental principles of society and civilization—to the common usage universally consented to, and mutually and reciprocally maintained—to the unceasing circulation of interest, which, passing through its million channels, invigorates the whole mass of civilized man—it is to these things, infinitely more than to any thing which even the best instituted government can perform, that the safety and prosperity of the individual and of the whole depend.

"The more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself: but so contrary is the practice of old governments to the reason of the case, that the expenses of them increase in the proportion they ought to diminish. It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same. If we consider what the principles are that first

condense men into society, and what the motives that regulate their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other.

"Man, with respect to all those matters, is more a creature of consistency than he is aware, or than governments would wish him to believe. All the great laws of society are laws of nature. Those of trade and commerce, whether with respect to the intercourse of individuals, or of nations, are laws of mutual and reciprocal interest. They are followed and obeyed, because it is the interest of the parties so to do, and not on account of any formal laws their government may impose or interpose.

"But how often is the natural propensity to society disturbed or destroyed by the operations of government? When the latter instead of being ingrafted on the principles of the former, assumes to exist for itself, and acts by partialities of favour and oppression, it becomes the cause of the mischiefs it ought to prevent.

"If we look back to the riots and tumults, which at various times have happened in England, we shall find that they did not proceed from the want of a government, but that government was itself the generating cause; instead of consolidating society it divided it; it deprived it of its natural cohesion, and engendered discontents and disorders, which otherwise would not have existed. In those associations, which men promiscuously form for the purpose of trade, or of any concern, in which government is totally out of the question, and in which they act merely on the principles of society, we see how naturally the various parties unite; and this shows, by comparison, that government, so far from being always the cause or means of order, are often the destruction of it. The riots of 1780 had no other source than the remains of those prejudices, which the government itself had encouraged. But with respect to England there are also other causes.

"Excess and inequality in taxation, however disguised in the means, never fail to appear in their effects. As a great mass of the community are thrown thereby into poverty and discontent, they are constantly on the brink of commotion; and, deprived, as they unfortunately are, of the means of

information, are easily heated to outrage. Whatever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always want of happiness. It shows that something is wrong in the system of government, that injures the felicity by which society is to be preserved.

"But as fact is superior to reasoning, the instance of America presents itself to confirm these observations.—If there is a country in the world, where concord, according to common calculation, would be least expected, it is America.

"Can we possibly suppose that if governments had originated in a right principle, and had not an interest in pursuing a wrong one, that the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelsome condition we have seen it? What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aside his peaceful pursuits, and go to war with the farmer of an other country? or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them, or to any class of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's estate, to raise its value? Are not conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never-failing consequence?—Though this reasoning may be good to a nation, it is not so to a government. War is the Pharo table of governments, and nations the dupes of the game.

"If there is any thing to wonder at in this miserable scene of governments, more than might be expected, it is the progress which the peaceful arts of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce have made, beneath such a long accumulating load of discouragement and oppression. It serves to show, that instinct in animals does not act with stronger impulse, than the principles of society and civilization operate in man."

"To meliorate the condition of human nature can be the only rational end of government. It cannot be designed to favour one description of men, a MINORITY of men, at the expense of all others; who having received life from him who alone can give it, received at the same time a right to enjoy it in liberty and security. This was the charter of God and nature; which no mortal, however elevated by conquest or inheritance, can annul or violate without impiety. All government which makes not the advancement of human happiness, and the comfort of the individuals who are subject

to its control, the *prime* purpose of its operations, partakes of despotism; and governments which boast of a free constitution, the views even of statesmen and politicians who espoused the cause of liberty, have been too circumscribed. They have been attached to names and families. They seem not to have opened either their eyes or hearts to objects truly great, and affections sincerely catholic and philanthropic. I hate to hear public men, who certainly can have no right to their offices, but for the public good, professing themselves of the democratic party, the federal party, the quid party, and appearing to forget, in their zeal for a few distinguished persons, the great mass of the people, the party of human nature. The majority of men are poor and obscure. To them all party attachments to names and families, little known as public benefactors, must appear at once absurd and injurious. They are the persons who stand in most need of protection and assistance from the powerful. The rich under all governments, have a thousand means of procuring either comfort or defence. It is the mass, the poor and middling ranks, unknown to, and unknowing courts or kings, or senators, or legislators, who require all the alleviation which men enlightened by knowledge, furnished with opulence, elevated by office, can afford to lessen the natural evils of life, aggravated by the moral and artificial. Government possesses the power of alleviating and sometimes of removing, that moral and physical evil which embitters existence.—How deplorable, when government become so perverted, as to increase the evil it was designed to cure. Yet this has been, and is now the case on a great part of the globe; insomuch that the learned and judicious Dr. Prideaux, whose integrity is as well known as his ability, used to say, 'That it was a doubt with him, whether the benefit which the world receives from government, was sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and mal-administration of those who manage it.'

"When it is considered how little the most boasted governments have been able or inclined to prevent the greatest calamity of the world, the frequent recurrence of WAR, it is natural to conclude, that there has been some radical defect or error in all government, hitherto instituted on the face of the earth. *Violence* may be used where there is *no* govern-

ment. Governments pretend to direct human affairs by *reason*; but war is a dereliction of reason, a renunciation of all that refines and improves human nature, and an appeal to brute force. Man descends from the heights to which philosophers and legislators had raised him in society; takes the sword, and surpasses the beasts of the forest in ferocity. Yet, so far from thinking himself culpable, he deems his destructive employment the most honorable of all human occupations, because governments have politically contrived to throw a glossy mantle, covered with tinsel and spangles, over the horrors of bloodshed and devastation. If governments with all their riches and power, all their vaunted arts and sciences, all the mysterious policy of cabinets, all the wisdom and eloquence of deliberating senates, are *unable* to preserve the *blessing* of *peace*, uninterrupted, during the short space of twenty years together, they must be dreadfully faulty, either in their constitution or their administration. In what consists the fault? I think in the selfish spirit of despotism, pursuing the sordid or vain-glorious purposes of the governors, with little regard to the real, substantial happiness of the governed. Despotism in some mode or degree, has transformed the shepherds of the flock into wolves; has appropriated the fleeces, shed the blood of the innoxious animals, tore down the fences of the sheepfold, and laid waste the pasture.

"Where is the government that has distributed property so equitably, as that none to whom existence has been given should want the *necessaries* of existence; and where helpless age and infirmity, as well as helpless infancy, should find a pillar to repose on, and plenty to nourish it, without supplicating a MAN, *equal* by nature, for the cold scanty relief of eleemosynary charity? The truth is, power gradually engrosses property; and the selfish spirit of despotism is ever striving to appropriate all the good, of every kind, which the earth is able to produce.

"The truth is, *national glory*, the trappings of a court, the parade of armies, the finery of external appearance, have been the silly objects of state solicitude; while MAN was left to bewail, in the recesses of want and obscurity, that his mother had brought him into a world of woe, without means of comfort or support, with little other prospect than to labour without ceasing, to fight those who never injured him, and to die

prematurely, unknown and unlamented. All his wretchedness has been aggravated by the *insults* of unfeeling pride; the *neglect* of aristocratic grandeur, which, under the spirit of despotism, mocked by the false pageantry of life, those who were doomed to feel its real misery. The vain pomp and glory of the world, held out the finger of scorn to that wretchedness which itself contributed to create, and would not relieve.

"After all the language of court adulation, the praises of poets and orators, the statues and monuments erected to the fame (of conquerors and rulers,) the malignant consequences of their actions prove them to have been no other than conspirators against the improvement and happiness of the human race. What were their means of conducting their governments, of exercising this office of Heaven's vicegerents? Crafty, dishonest arts, oppression, extortion; and above all FIRE and SWORD. They dared to ape the thunder and lightning of Heaven, and, assisted by the machinations of the Grand Adversary of man, rendered their imitative contrivances for destruction more terrible and deadly than the original. Their imperial robe derived its deep crimson color from human blood; and the gold and diamonds of their diadems were accumulated treasures wrung from the famished bowels of the *poor*, born only to toil for others, to be robbed, to be wounded, to be trodden under foot and forgotten in an early grave. How few, in comparison, have reached the age of three score and ten, and yet, in the midst of youth and health, their days have been full of labor and sorrow. Heaven's vicegerents seldom bestowed a thought upon them, except when it was necessary either to inveigle or to force them to take the sword and march to slaughter. Where God caused the sun to shine gaily, and scattered plenty over the land, his vicegerents diffused famine and solitude. The valley which laughed with corn, they watered with the tear of artificial hunger and distress; the plain that was bright with verdure, and gay with flowrets, they dyed red with gore. They operated on the world as the blast of an east wind, as a pestilence, as a deluge, as a conflagration, And have they yet ceased from the earth? Cast your eyes over the plains of Europe, the wilds of Africa, and the gardens of ASIA, European despotism has united with oriental, to unparadise the provinces of India.

"Thus, if God, in his wisdom, has thought fit to allot us a *few evils* for the purpose of discipline, the GREAT ONES of the world have endeavored to make the *whole* of life an evil to the despised and neglected MILLION. The world is now old, and may profit by the lessons of Experience. SHE has decisively declared, that Monarchy is the grand source of human misfortune, the Pandora's box out of which every curse has issued, and scarcely left even Hope behind. Despotism, in its extreme, is fatal to human happiness, and, in all its degrees and modifications, injurious. The spirit of it ought therefore to be suppressed on the first and slightest appearance. It should be the endeavor of every good man, *pro viribi*, as far as his best abilities will extend, to extirpate all arbitrary government from the globe. It should be swept from the earth, or trampled under foot, from China to Peru. But no power is capable of crushing the Hydra, less than the Herculean arm of a whole PEOPLE.

"I lay it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that all who are born into the world have a right to be as happy in it as the unavoidable evils of nature, and their own disordered passions, will allow. The grand object of all good government, of all government that is not an usurpation, must be to promote this happiness, to assist every individual in its attainment and security. A government chiefly anxious about the emoluments of office, chiefly employed in augmenting its own power and aggrandizing its obsequious instruments, while it neglects the comfort and safety of individuals in middle or low life, is despotic and a nuisance. It is founded on folly as well as wickedness, and like the freaks of insanity, deals mischief and misery around, without being able to ascertain or limit its extent and duration. If it should not be punished as criminal, let it be coerced as dangerous. Let the straight waistcoat be applied; but let MEN, judging fellow men, *always* spare the axe.

"For what rational purpose could we enter into life? To vex, torment, and slay each other with the sword? No, by the sweet mercy of Heaven! I firmly believe, that the great King of Kings, intended every son and daughter of Adam to be as happy as the eternal laws of Nature, under his control, permit them to be in this sublunary state. Execrated and exploded be all those politics, with Machiavel, or the Evil

Being, their author, which introduce systems of government and manners among the great, inconsistent with the happiness of the majority. Must real tragedies be forever acting on the stage of human life? Must men go on forever to be tormentors and executioners of men? Is the world never to profit by the experience of ages? Must not even *attempts* be made to improve the happiness of life, to improve government, though all arts and sciences are encouraged in their progress to perfection? Must the grand art, the sublimest science, that of meliorating the condition of human nature, be stationary? No; forbid it reason, virtue, benevolence, religion! Let the world be made more and more comfortable, to all who are allowed the glorious privilege of seeing the sun and breathing the liberal air. Our forefathers were oppressed by priests and despots, and driven from their natal country to seek an asylum among the more merciful savages of North America. Let us explode that folly, that priest-craft, that bigotry which compelled them to embark on a stormy sea, and seek refuge in a howling wilderness; and let every mortal under the cope of heaven enjoy existence, as long as nature will allow the feasts to continue, without any restraints on liberty, but such as the majority of uncorrupted guests unite in agreeing to be salutary, and therefore conducive to the general festivity."

EXCELLENCE OF FEMALE CHARACTER.

Who in this world of care and strife
Doth kindly cheer and sweeten life,
As friend, companion, and as wife?
True Woman!

Who, by a thousand tender wiles,
By fond endearments, words and smiles,
Our bosom of its grief beguiles?
Mild Woman!

Who makes our purest pleasures flow;
Extracts the rankling sting of woe,
And warms the heart with transport's glow?
Lov'd Woman!

Who, of a nature more refin'd,
Doth soften man's rude, stubborn mind,
And makes him gentle, just, and kind?
Sweet Woman!

When, hours of absence past, we meet,
Say, who enraptur'd runs to greet
Our glad return, with welcome sweet?
Kind Woman!

Who by a word, a touch, a sigh,
The simple glancing of her eye,
Can fill the soul with ecstacy?
Dear Woman!

Eden we lost ensnar'd by vice;
But well has she repaid its price,
Who renders earth a paradise,
Blest Woman!

"Women have borne the king and all the people that bare rule by sea and land. Even of them came they; and they nourished them up that planted the vineyards from whence the vine cometh. These also make garments for men, these bring glory unto men; and without women cannot men be. Yea, and if men have gathered together gold and silver, or any other goodly thing, do they not love a woman which is comely in favour and beauty? And letting all those things go, do they not gape, and even with open mouth fix their eyes fast on her; and have not all men more desire unto her than unto silver or gold, or any goodly thing whatsoever? A man leaveth his own father that brought him up, and his own country, and cleaveth unto his wife. He sticketh not to spend his life with his wife, and remembereth neither father nor mother nor country. By this also ye must know, that women have dominion over you: do we not labour and toil, and give and bring all to the woman? Yea, a man taketh his sword, and goeth his way to rob and to steal, to sail upon the sea and upon the rivers; and looketh upon a lion, and goeth in the darkness; and when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love. Wherefore a man loveth his wife better than father or mother. Yea, many there be, that have run out of their wits for women, and become servants for their sakes. Many also have perished, have erred and sinned, for women. And now, do ye not all believe me? Is not the king great in his power! Do not all regions fear to touch him? Yet did I see him and Apame, the king's concubine, the daughter of the admirable Bartacus, sitting at the right-hand of the king, and taking the crown from the king's head, and setting it upon her own head: she also struck the king with her left-hand. And yet for all this, the king gaped and gazed upon her with open mouth: if she laughed upon him, he laughed also: but if she took any displeasure at him, the king was fain to flatter, that she might be reconciled to him again. O, ye men, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they do thus?" I. Esdras iv. 15—32.

On the female half of the human family, devolves, at first, the important charge of the rising generation, those who must be the defenders of our natural rights, the supporters of our social privileges. It is they who form the mind to think, the heart to feel, and who "teach the young idea how

to shoot" when most susceptible of impression. They possess charms to captivate the wisest and enamour the best of men; to lead monarchs in silken chains, and even decide the fate of nations.

Her pure, pious, fervent, affectionate heart, is the temple where holy love delights to dwell. I recollect when a youth, of sailing in shallow but most translucent water, whose bottom was studded with beds of coral, the brilliancy of which, I could see through the pellucid waves; even so it is, with the pure and brilliant jewel, the humane female heart.

Stimulated by disinterested philanthropy, after the avocations of each day is past, I appropriate that season which others necessarily spend in sleep, to the arrangement and composition of this and my other works.

The following therefore, may be very properly called, "Midnight Thoughts on the wretchedness existing in civilized Society;" which, in many respects, may be considered an abyss of human degeneracy, strowed with briars and thorns, instead of a terrestrial paradise, carpeted with roses, which would undoubtedly be the case, were the votaries of civilization as tenacious of maintaining the characters of virtuous and benevolent persons, as they are those of honorable, right honorable, reverend and right reverend, excellency, &c, &c. The most superficial view of civilized and savage nations, where literature flourishes, or where ignorance prevails, will furnish the philanthropist with woeful exhibitions, that are enough to make female delicacy shudder, sensibility sigh, and humanity to melt into tears; and what enhances the painful sensation is the melancholy reflection, that the miseries alluded to, are not diminishing, through the influence and examples of the virtuous, but are, alas! accumulating through the baneful allurements of the vicious.

When I survey actual scenes, which seem almost too tragical to be authentic, too romantic to be real, too horrible to meet the ear or eye of the humane; and when I reflect that it is utterly impossible for me to remedy those scenes of human woe, involuntary desire rushes into my mind to be lodged in some solitary wilderness, where I might weep for the wretchedness and degradation of my fellow-creatures, children of the same original parents, created for high beatitude in heaven, and to be lords of the creation on earth, a

little lower than the angels, but, on account of moral evil, reduced one step below the brute, and but one above infernal spirits.

I profess to be a Philanthropist. I seek no better name, unless it be a Humanitist.

What tongue can tell, what imagination can conceive the miseries peculiar to the defenceless orphan, especially if a female; perhaps led into the devious paths of folly by the votaries of seduction, those murderers of the human soul, those traitors to the human race, who, like the prowling wolf in the woodlands, or the voracious shark in the briny deep, go about seeking whom they may destroy and ruin. Torture of mind, agony of heart, depravity of morals, a torpid insensibility to all moral obligations, are the result of their ravages on the person of the ruined female, perhaps an orphan.

The rich, as well as the poor, are individually interested in the subject of our investigation. Indeed, the prosperity, nay, the very existence of society, is connected with it. The children of rich parents are, by no means, out of the reach of disaster; and, however they may feed their vanity and nurture their pride, they are, in common with others, obnoxious to diversified vicissitudes, misfortunes and temptations. With sympathetic pity, I view the futile, vain, and absurd pursuits of the personages who compose what are called the higher circles, though many of them are not only the children of poor parents, but were originally poor themselves; but either by industry or economy, by fraud or force, have accumulated riches, and of course popularity; when lo! they forget their origin, and look down with sovereign contempt upon their poor brethren.

When the rich are so peculiarly favoured by Providence above millions of their fellow-creatures, how great must their ingratitude be, if they neglect to return their thankful acknowledgments to the Author of all their Mercies; and with their lives, as well as their lips, celebrate the great Creator's praise. For what purpose does the Deity bestow riches upon a part of the human race. Is it to spend in vanity and superfluity? or to be appropriated to the most benevolent purposes, to wit, the support of God's poor; for he sends the poor and needy to the rich man's door, to try his heart: and the same pity which he shows to them, will God show to him at a future day. And every rich man should pray,—

"Teach me to feel another's woe,
And hide the fault I see:
The mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me."

How unjust and absurd it is for people to spend their time in hoarding up riches, for the splendid accommodations of their children, when they are in their graves; and yet, forsooth, neglect to inculcate the precepts of moral rectitude or virtue on their juvenile minds. The thought never occurs to them, that wealth can only make them appear externally happy and respectable, but that virtue alone can make them appear externally and feel internally happy, amidst all the vicissitudes incident to our mortal state. They will not learn wisdom from experience. We see the extravagant children of parsimonious parents, spend in vanity and dissipation the immense fortunes accumulated by their progenitors: and when that is gone, having been brought up in idleness, and unaccustomed to industry, the spendthrift makes use of unlawful means to replenish his purse; and he is consequently brought to a premature and ignominious end. We will here venture a short extract on

FEMALE EDUCATION.

"Let your first care be to give your little girls a good *physical* education. Let their early years be passed, if possible, in the country, gathering flowers in the fields, and partaking of all the free exercises in which they delight. When they grow older, do not condemn them to sit each listless day over their books, their tasks, their work, their maps, and their music. Be assured that half the number of hours passed in real attention to well-ordered studies will make them more accomplished and more agreeable companions than those commonly are who have been most elaborately *finished*, in the modern acceptation of the term. Real elegance of demeanour springs from the mind; fashionable schools do but teach its imitation, whilst their rules forbid to be ingenuous. Philosophers never conceived the idea of so perfect a vacuum as is found to exist in the minds of young women supposed to have finished their education in such establishments. If they marry husbands as uninformed as

themselves, they fall into habits of insignificance without much pain: if they marry persons more accomplished, they can retain no hold of their affections. Hence many matrimonial miseries, in the midst of which the wife finds it a consolation, to be always complaining of her health and ruined nerves. In the education of young women we would say—let them be secured from all the trappings and manacles of such a system: let them partake of every active exercise not absolutely unfeminine, and trust to their being able to get into or out of a carriage with a light and graceful step, which no drilling can accomplish. Let them rise early and retire early to rest, and trust that their beauty will not need to be coined into artificial smiles in order to secure a welcome, whatever room they enter. Let them ride, walk, run, dance, in the open air. Encourage the merry and innocent diversions in which the young delight: let them, under proper guidance, explore every hill and valley: let them plant and cultivate the garden, and make hay when the summer sun shines, and surmount all dread of a shower of rain or the boisterous wind; and, above all, let them take no medicine except when the doctor orders it. The demons of hysteria and melancholy might hover over a group of young ladies so brought up: but they would not find one of them upon whom they could exercise any power."—*Foreign Quarterly Review.*

There is nothing in nature more capricious, contagious, and at the same time, contaminating, than *Fashion:* hence, appearances and personages, which are now beheld with approbation and complacency, would twenty years ago, have been seen with shame, disgust and execration: and hence, mankind, in the different ages of the world, have practised the most unnatural and diabolical evils and vices, till they became both familar and fashionable.

We will all agree, that to bring up the rising generation in the path of virtue, is an indispensable and important duty; for, on the virtue of our children, the prosperity, nay the existence of society depends. It will, of course, appear that whatever precept or example is inculcated or exhibited in the present age to our youth, will, according to its merits or demerits, have a deleterious or salutary tendency, in the subsequent generation.

As rational beings, we should, both by precept and example, endeavour with indefatigable assiduity to improve the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of our offspring. By this means we will lay the foundation of a life of happiness and utility; but, by a contrary line of conduct, facilitate their ruin.

For a moment, reflect on the shortness of time, the certainty of the approach of death, and the vanity of riches, (which this messenger will, sooner or later, force us to relinquish) as well as on the intrinsic excellency of virtue, and the deformity of vice.

None but the philanthropist and sincere christian can judge of the fatality of the contagious and popular vices which at present, as well as formerly, have brought destruction upon nations, desolation upon families, discord amongst friends, and ruin upon both the bodies and souls of men. For the debauchee, or fashionable libertine, being a stranger to the endearing connexions and affections by which families are connected, never anticipates the afflictions and dismay which his lawless crimes produce, in the bosoms of virtuous retirement. He thinks little about the tears he will cause to flow, and the anguish and despair he will create. Not unlike the spider which spreads his fallacious snare, and watches with anxious solicitude the moment the unconscious fly approaches it, when he rushes on his innocent prey, which struggles to gain its liberty and life, but, alas! in vain; and if it should extricate itself, it is so debilitated and wounded that it never recovers strength, but lingers through life in perfect misery. Thus this pest of society lays in wait to entangle and destroy innocent females, who have no friends to defend them, and no relatives to redress their wrongs. If a solitary gleam of pity flashes across his iron mind, it is instantly effaced by the more potent call of lawless passion.

I am bold to say, that some fashionable females would be less fascinating were they to go altogether naked: for instance, a person may display in part an object, which will be truly captivating by exhibiting the most attracting part to view, and screening the rest as still more delightful.

There is not an individual of the human family (idiots and lunatics excepted,) who has not one or more talents imparted, and a portion of salutary labour appropriated for the exercise

of such talent or talents, by the improvement of which he may, in a greater or less degree, promote the glory of God, in the cause of virtue, and the good of mankind.

The Eternal prohibits his children from nothing but what would be injurious to them. Those who obey his requirings, enjoy a paradise on earth, in reflecting that they, with a sincere heart, endeavour to do his will. Thus, in the midst of misfortune and disappointment, the virtuous are crowned with joy and peace, while the vicious are tormented with the thoughts of their present guilt, and the prospect of their future misery.

The injudicious farmer suffers his colt to remain in the woodlands (instead of raising and nurturing it under his immediate inspection) till it has gained its native strength, with accumulated fierceness. The owner, being pressed by his wants, now pursues, endeavouring to recover his horse, but in vain. The horse is rendered useless to him, and dangerous to the public through his neglect. Thus thousands of children are not only useless to their parents, but bring their grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, through their wildness and disobedience. And they not only endanger the peace of others by their blind impetuosity, but hurry themselves headlong into excesses which terminate in their ruin.

The child of a savage, and that of a sage, are (excepting their hereditary dispositions) the same by nature. By letting them remain uncultivated, they will both be wild, though it may be, their quickness of cultivation may not be the same on their intellectual improvement.

Let us for a moment cast our eyes on the theatre of war in Europe, and ask our hearts the cause of all this havoc, slaughter, discord, devastation, and anarchy which we behold. —While individuals, families, and nations arm for war, and, on the most trifling occasions, rush against each other with the fury of roaring lions, and with the impetuosity of maniacs, malevolent and furious to spill each other's blood, the answer is ready, the reason is obvious, to wit, PASSION! unrestrained, unhallowed PASSION. And it is not the present age only that has been famous, or rather infamous, for the depredations of sanguinary warfare, but also former generations have tinged the native green with cruel red; have cast libations of human blood into the briny deep; have raised whole

hecatombs of human bodies, as trophies in honour of the goddess of victory. And when we descend from national to individual suicide, we behold with an equal degree of horror, the tragical catastrophes resulting from domestic and individual discord: here we see revenge, envy, covetousness, jealousy, rage, with unbridled license: here the outlawed villain sends the glittering death through the guiltless body of the inoffensive traveller; robs him of his money, while his blood is yet warm on the reeking blade. There the legal villain, on account of some trifling misunderstanding, calls his brother into the field, and sends the leaden ball through his body with impunity, while he screens himself from all imputation under the august canopy of public patronage or popular custom.

I do, indeed, exalt the female character higher than the male, in those qualifications which ennoble human nature, and assimilate it to the angelic; benevolence, sympathy, commiseration, and in every other acquirement which men have, or ever will succeed, the natural genius of women can, if improved, make, with equal opportunities, the same attainments. My object is to show women themselves what noble, exalted, glorious beings they are, while they act conformably to their high vocation.

In most parts of the world, females are considered by the male part of society, merely as objects of sensual convenience and domestic accommodation; possessed with animal, but destitute of immortal spirits; and even in christendom, many degrade and represent them as inferior, in point of intellectual faculties to the male.

I must impute this strange infatuation, this unnatural conclusion, to error in education, a wrong association of ideas in youth, which is handed down from one generation to another, as it were, by hereditary succession; till that hypothesis, which is in fact, an insult to common sense, daily experience, and the nature of things, is, by custom, reduced to a natural supposition, a received opinion.

Is not a judicious education the best fortune a child, whether male or female, can receive? Why then, have a large majority of the sons of men adopted the most spurious, the most unjust, and ungenerous sentiments respecting the female character, and the most farcical and ludicrous notions respecting female education? Why in the name of wonder,

is the cultivation of the female mind, even by the refined sons of Europe, considered merely as a matter of secondary consideration, except it is amongst the rich and affluent; and even then one would suppose, by the education that many parents give their daughters, that they intend them to be play-actors or dancing girls, instead of being the prudent and judicious mothers of respectable families; and this, I will be bold to say, is the radical cause that multitudes of these characters called ladies, are the most useless beings, the most vain, capricious, versatile, gaudy, and affected mortals in the creation.

Let ardent heroes seek renown in arms,
Pant after fame, and rush to war's alarms;
To shining palaces let fools resort,
And dunces cringe to be esteem'd at court;
Mine be the pleasure of a *rural* life,
From noise remote, and ignorant of strife;
No costly furniture should grace my hall;
But curling vines ascend upon the wall,
Whose pliant branches should luxuriant twine,
While purple clusters, swell'd with future wine:
To slake my thirst, a liquid lapse distil,
From craggy rocks, and spread a limpid rill.
No trumpets there with martial clangour sound,
No prostrate heroes strew the crimson'd ground;
No groves of lances glitter in the air,
Nor thund'ring drums provoke the sanguine war:
But white-rob'd peace, and universal love
Smile in the field and brighten every grove.
There all the beauties of the circling year,
In native ornamental pride appear.
There from the polished fetters of the great,
Triumphal piles, and gilded rooms of state;
Prime ministers and sycophantic knaves,
Illustrious villains, and illustrious slaves;
From all the vain formality of fools,
An odious task of arbitrary rules;
The ruffling cares which the vex'd soul annoy,
The wealth the rich possess, but not enjoy.
I'd live retir'd, contented, and serene,
Forgot, unknown, unenvied, and unseen.

Blessing my *natal* and my *mortal* hour,
(My soul committed to the eternal power)
Inexorable death should smile, for I,
Who *knew* to LIVE, would never *fear* to DIE."

The question still recurs, Why the degradation of the female character? Why are they, or a very great proportion of them, reduced to mere cyphers in the scale of beings? Is it because they are devoid of those brilliant qualifications that shine so conspicuous in the sons of men? Those noble qualifications if not superior, are at least equal, in the female character; and nothing but the poison of false education, the wrong association of juvenile ideas, are the cause why the native genius and inherent endowments of females do not burst forth and shine with renovated splendor.

We might make a long deduction of examples, to prove the super excellence of the female character, and that they have excelled in many of the departments of civil and savage society, and have eventually proved an ornament not only to their own sex, but to human nature. I refer the reader to the many volumes of female biography and works of female authors, to prove my arguments.

As a specimen of female energy, I might mention Semiramis, the consort of Ninus, the sovereign of the ancient and celebrated city of Nineveh. She was previously the wife of one of his officers, and distinguished herself so much by her heroic exploits, that the king not only married her, but left her his crown at his death.

"This ambitious princess being desirous, in her turn to render her name immortal, in a very few years built the city of Babylon, to such an amazing extent that it far exceeded Nineveh, its walls being of sufficient thickness to allow six chariots to go abreast.

"The quays, the bridge over the Euphrates, the hanging gardens, the prodigies of sculpture and architecture, the temple of Belus, which had in it a golden statue forty feet high, though they were not all works of Semiramis, yet they were much improved and embellished by her.

Time and space would fail me to mention the many female characters who have signalized themselves by their ingenious, heroic, and invincible achievements, from the reign of this

celebrated woman, to that of the empress Catharine of Russia; and with respect to philanthropy and munificence, they unquestionably abound more, far more among the female than the male part of society; and with reference to the finer feelings which adorn human nature, if we candidly consider them on an average, we shall be obliged to relinquish the palm in favour of women. Were I inclined, I could, perhaps, trace a line of tender feelings, benevolent emotions, in a direct course, through every clime, not excluding the most savage, from Eve, the mother of the human family, to the members which compose that intrinsically munificent institution, entitled the *Widow's Society*, and exclusively organized by a number of respectable ladies of New-York, for the support and protection of helpless and disconsolate widows and orphan children.

Yet those characters, who can, with impunity, forego the sacred delights peculiar to the philanthropist, and neglect to fulfil the cardinal duties peculiar to christianity, would feel condemnation if they neglected to attend a social ceremonial or sacramental meeting, intended for their personal benefit.—And they think, because they attend hypocritic rites and penal creeds, that they will of course, meet the approbation of the Deity, though they neglect the more important duties of hospitality and benevolence to their brethren—the progeny of Adam collectively.

There seems to be an evident declension in christian charity among many of the professed votaries of revealed religion; a selfish parsimonious disposition, utterly repugnant to the principles of moral rectitude, as well as incompatible with, and uncongenial to, evangelical religion. Can a selfish penurious man be a christian? Not with my views of christianity. How different is the pious philanthropist, whose delight is to bless, (were his power equal to his affection,) and circle the human family in one kind embrace.

"Charity, decent, modest, easy, kind,
Softens the high, and rears the abject mind,
Knows with just reins, and gentle hand, to guide
Between vile shame and arbitrary pride,
Not soon provok'd, she easily forgives;
And much she suffers, as she much believes.

Soft peace she brings wherever she arrives;
She builds our quiet, as she forms our lives;
Lays the rough paths of peevish nature even;
And opens in each heart a little heaven.
"Each other gift, which God on man bestows,
Its proper bounds and due restrictions knows;
To one fix'd purpose dedicates its power;
And finishing its act, exists no more.
Thus, in obedience to what Heaven decrees,
Knowledge shall fail, and prophecy shall cease;
But lasting charity's more ample sway,
Nor bound by time, nor subject to decay,
In happy triumph shall forever live,
And endless good diffuse, and endless praise receive.
May mutual love to mutual good provoke,
A three-fold cord that never can be broke;
To raise the helpless, and to soothe distress,
To bless the sick, the oppressed to redress;
To screen the orphan from the impending blow,
To ease the widow's heart of latent wo;
To cheer the faint, and gently to reprove
The stubborn heart, by offices of love.
Your gifts to these essential joy imparts,
And proves the gracious feelings of your hearts;
Your aid supports a drooping parent's age;
And still the widow's poignant woes assuage;
Your aid still soothe the way-worn orphan's grief,
And to her artless cries still yields relief;
For you my prayers to Heaven shall still be borne,
On the first breeze that hails the golden morn.
While those who view the orphan's dire distress,
Without kind pity, nor their woes redress,
Shall from their judge, on the eternal shore
Receive such pity as they gave before;
Professors who pretend to love the Lord,
Yet to his poor no succour will afford;
Their base pretensions are impertinence,
Hostile to reason and to common sense.

The female claim to mental equality is questioned, and their reasoning faculties depreciated, not only by Mahome-

fans, but even by christians and philosophers; and many authors of the most respectable talents. The celebrated Lavater, the great physiognomist, has unequivocally asserted, "that women know not how to think; they perceive, and can associate ideas, but can go no further." How astonishing it is, that a man of Lavater's ingenuity and celebrity could believe or assert such a spurious and fallacious sentiment. Had he listened to the captivating brilliancy of the elocution of Aspasia, and ascertained the depth of her philosophy; the powers of whose mind struck with amazement and admiration even the eloquent Pericles; had he recognized the sublime Corinna, contending with, and winning the prize from, the famous Pindar, of Thebes, by her verse; had he investigated with candour the ingenious, though abstruse writings of Wolstoncraft; had he been present in the councils in which queen Elizabeth presided; and in which she displayed political ingenuity superior to a majority of her predecessor and successor sovereigns; he would undoubtedly have been of a different opinion.

Indeed, I cannot help believing, that the contempt for the mental capacity of the sex, expressed by many learned authors, proceeds more from envy than ignorance; more from want of candid consideration, than from want of literary penetration.

Is it impossible to break asunder the adamantine fetters, with which custom has shackled their energetic minds? Why is not their *natural equality* established? Why is it that in the multiplicity of revolutions and counter-revolutions that have latterly taken place in the world, the scientific improvement of females, favourable to their intellectual emancipation, has not been effected. Even the few who have magnanimously passed the boundaries of male usurpation, have too often wasted their illustrious talents in chimerical and romantic, instead of beneficial and scientific composition. We have seen the works of women who were blest with super-eminent qualifications and superlative talents, (but too often on subjects of little use) clothed in the most sublime language.

A hundred thousand instances might be adduced, to show, how grievously the rights of women are infringed: though they themselves are not sensible of it: even in a religious point of view, how unjustly is the female mind shackled?

In ancient times, the prophetesses as well as prophets were allowed and encouraged to preach, or as it was then called prophesy; but in modern times, a holy and almost seraphic female, the favourite of heaven, and child of God; if her heavenly Father should move her by his spirit, to bear a testimony for him to his guilty creatures, the clergy are up in arms and unanimously say it shall not be so. Thus we see, even the will of heaven is counteracted by the tyranny of custom, except among the Quakers. But what makes this picture tenfold more degrading to human nature and insulting to common sense, is the peculiar contrast between the character and conduct of some ministers and some of the congregations. Here we see a youth sent to college with his two brothers, one to be instructed for an attorney at law, one for an officer in the army, and the other for a minister of religion; the juvenile preacher learns a smattering of Latin, how to write a sermon; and, forsooth, skips from the college to the pulpit, with his head full of elocution; but, alas! his heart full of emptiness: this young manufactured parson assumes the gown and band for liberal wages: while the holy, and, perhaps, eloquent female we have just depicted is compelled to silence.

The liberality of sentiment manfested by the Society of Friends, in this respect, is truly admirable and worthy of imitation; and also, the appearance and apparel of their young women. How amiable, how modest, and how beautiful!

Among those discreet females, who ennoble human nature, we not only recognize the fair sex, but also the cherishing sex, who cherish the widow and orphan, clothe the naked, and feed the poor; the pious sex, who nurture their offspring as the candidates of heaven, and as sojourners on earth; they teach them to draw the sincere milk of the word with that of the breast. The pacific sex, who delight not in war nor the discord of nations or societies; the sympathetic sex, whose hearts melt at human woe, and who are precipitate to alleviate the sorrows of the children of affliction.

I remember that my mother and sisters, my wife and daughters were women, and that the God of Nature intended man to be their protector and defender; the ardent and indefatigable defender of the sex who are the votaries of virtue, humanity, and delicate sensibility.

In attempting to investigate the cause of female degradation, my mind is led imperceptibly to contemplate the miserable state of millions of poor unhappy females, who, at this very moment, are the victims of the avarice, and consequently the promiscuous lust of the traitors and tyrants of mankind; I mean the oppressed daughters of the African race, from whose chains, death alone is expected to relieve them.

O, death! the negro's welcome friend,
"The dearest and the best,"
How joyful is the hour you bring
The weary slave to rest.
When from the cruel tyrant's grasp,
By friendly Death he's torn;
To taste the blest relief of those,
Who cease on earth to mourn.

I need not, in this place, recapitulate the unparalleled sufferings of these wretched victims of our avarice; this I have already done in my other performances, (see the Guardian Genius,) to the best of my poor abilities. Suffice it to say: The son and sire are daily and hourly tormented by their cruel task masters, who force them to undergo extremity of toil and hardship: to forego not only the comforts, but even the necessaries of life. While they endure severity of toil, they receive only penury of food; and, to aggravate their miserable doom, they are forced, with weeping eyes and agonizing hearts, to see their wives and daughters, not only the victims of the avarice, but subjected to the promiscuous lust of their oppressors.

An individual ruffian, that is the owner of an estate of 200 slaves, appropriates all the young females for his seraglio; there is, of course, a motley race of half white and half black children, produced by the owner, yet not considered legitimate; they are of course, continued as slaves: hence these promiscuously begotten children, when arrived at the years of maturity, being ignorant of their progenitors, promiscuously and unwittingly commit incest, with all its beastly concomitants;—But I must cease delineating this truly degrading picture of human depravity, as being too shocking for the ear of delicacy to hear, the eye of philanthropy to view, or the

heart of humanity to recognize. Human nature, is degraded to the brutal for the pleasure of the voluptuous epicure; the laws of nature are inverted, though not the laws of grace: for, while the tyrant is chaining the mangled limbs and lacerated bodies of his slaves, their souls, perhaps, are, at the self-same moment, holding sweet converse with God.

The foundation of civil society and social virtue, is shaken to maintain the superiority of demons in human form. I will prove the validity of this assertion, by exhibiting the premature fate of Hayti, which presents itself at once to prove to a demonstration the force of my hypothesis. The thousands of white planters, who, some few years ago, were scourging, with unrelenting cruelty, the exiled sons of Africa, in that unhappy country, have been cruelly massacred by the same exiled and exasperated Africans. Only seven hundred, out of several thousands, were spared for a time, and afterwards butchered by order of Dessalines, except a few artificers retained for local purposes. The insurrections of Jamaica are also in point.

The most eligible method to call the juvenile mind, not only to investigate and admire, but even to practice and participate social virtue, or benevolence is, example. When the child is attempting to kill a fly, or any other insect, by appearing to pity and sympathize with its sufferings, and, showing that cruelty is wrong and displeasing to God. By inculcating such sentiments, the child may be led to feel mercy, and show clemency to all the animal creation.

Too many good men use the most injudicious means to make their children good. First, the nurse begins with the infant almost as soon as he can lisp, to terrify him with the idea of a superior being, that will punish with vindictiveness. His heavenly Parent, by such imprudent nurses, is metamorphosed to a raw-head and bloody bones, or to a hobgoblin, or some other phantom of the brain, to frighten the child to sleep: thus a foundation is laid at the most important period of life, for the most invincible prejudices, the most unconquerable superstitions to be built upon. Aversion and terror are engendered, while love and tenderness are annihilated; that love which can be implanted, I had almost said sooner than any other passion, for daily experience proves that it is generally the easiest thing in life, to gain the affection of a child

by acts of love and tenderness; while, on the other hand, by hardness and moroseness, we as easily imbibe in them hatred and disgust; and perhaps, at the same time, a manner of fear and terror.

It therefore appears evident, that the only way to induce them to place their juvenile affection on the Deity, is by exhibiting him as their friend, not as their enemy; as one that loves them supremely, and not as one that will punish them inexorably. But it is not only by nurses, but also by parents truly religious, and even ministers of religion, that sentiments have been depictured in children's minds, that have a direct tendency to connect gloom and horror with religion, restraint and infelicity with godliness.

Some people prematurely separate from their children soon after their birth, and give them in charge to itinerant nurses, who cannot be supposed to feel the same tender solicitude for their welfare as their parents naturally feel; they are, of course, resigned to the caprice of persons, who often punish them in the most cruel manner, while the poor little sufferers cannot tell who injured and imposed upon them; and female children often, very often, receive the seeds of unchastity from their nurses; which prove in following years, the cause of their destruction.

My father, with whom I lived till I was sixteen years old, I always disregarded, on account of the appearance of moroseness in his physiognomy, and the distance he kept his children at, though he was by no means severe: but seemed to be as destitute of paternal tenderness, as I was of filial piety. I would, therefore, recommend parents, who wish to gain, and keep their children's affection, to attend to the old proverb, "Love begets love," and nothing else but love, whether human or divine.

What has a particular tendency to degrade the female character, and encourage men to encroach upon the natural rights of women, is, the ridiculous partiality of mothers in particular and parents in general, to their male, in preference to their female children. One would suppose, that such characters were virtually if not practically, the votaries of Mahometanism; that they did not believe in the immateriality of the souls of females; but that they were created and put into the world, merely for the sensual convenience of men

and for their domestic accommodation, and, of course, that men are of decided and transcendent superiority to women.

There are men, and good men too, not pagans, but real christians, the prejudices of whose education remain unconquered, and who (though affectionate in other respects), consider their wives merely as domestic beings, whose element is a nursery, and whose business is exclusively confined to domestic economy, and maternal solicitude, without any reference to theological vocations, scientific improvement, or intellectual refinement. Men of this description are capable of blasting the domestic peace, and casting a mental gloom over the women, who are so unfortunate as to be united with them in the bands of holy matrimony.

Mothers, above all other people, should be well informed in all the branches of useful literature; in order that they may be capable to inform their children. When this is not the case, the children who receive a classical education, are too apt to look down with contempt, upon their illiterate mothers, when they return from colleges, and other seminaries of learning. They should, therefore, consider prudence and propriety, not as sexual virtues; but should inculcate sentiments of delicacy and justice upon the minds of their male, as well as female progeny: by this means that unnatural contempt for the female character, which I have been execrating, will be done away; and that hereditary prejudice, produced by the father's impropriety, and mother's imprudence, would be obviated; we should no more see the laws of prudence and common sense outraged; and common decency violated.

Young women bring themselves to ruin and disgrace, by too implicitly believing the vague promises of men; who flatter to deceive. Parents are certainly extremely reprehensible, for encouraging too much familiarity between the sexes; as well as for not carefully explaining to their daughters, the dangers resulting therefrom. Thousands of virgins have been ruined by this means: but as some freedom is justifiable, and as a prudent intercourse is commendable, females when courted, should act with the most becoming reservedness and modesty, in the presence of their suitors; assuring themselves, that no man of real honor, or virtuous sensibility, will expect the opposite course.

When I went first to school, my teachers were inflexibly morose and severe: all was severity, and no encouragement; the consequence was, instead of being constituted a scholar by attending this seminary, I was made a dunce; I was so intimidated by corporeal correction, and mental intimidation, that I was rendered stupid both in and out of school. I studied about nine years, and much money was expended during that time, for my tuition. Yet I am confident, I could learn more now in nine months, than I did in that nine years. I feel irritated almost when I reflect on the cruel manner in which I was used; I not only say for trivial faults, but also for no faults at all. I have received such a severe whipping, as to be left in a gore of blood, because I could not repeat my grammar lesson word for word, which I had done to my school fellow, with great facility, a few moments before I was assaulted, but, being terrified at the presence of my unfeeling instructor, I had forgot every word when he examined me; I consequently was designated by the opprobrious epithet of dunce: and, in fact, I was rendered such by the cruelty and impolicy of my instructors: for I hope I will not be considered a pedant, when I affirm that nature never formed me such a character. Hence, I believe a cruel and injudicious teacher is a pest to society, and an intellectual murderer. I do not, by any means, wish to insinuate, that a teacher should never correct his pupils; there are a variety of ways without corporal punishment: but, at any rate, I must say, gentleness should always mitigate severity; mildness be blended with chastisement. A teacher should never inflict corporeal punishment on his pupils except for actual cruelty.

Worldly persons consider riches as the nerves of the conjugal state: hence, parents sacrifice their children's present peace and future prosperity at the shrine of that greedy god, Mammon. An avaricious person will marry his daughter, perhaps not more than sixteen years of age, to a man old enough to be her grand father, merely because he is rich. For the sake of filthy lucre, the girl is forced contrary to her inclinations (which, by the by in such cases as these are seldom consulted,) and to her previous engagements, to give her hand and person to one man, while she has given her heart to another; the consequence of which is, she is plunged into a labyrinth of misery, from which nothing but death

can relieve her—she is almost compelled to be unfaithful to her hoary headed husband, though she may be, by nature and education, virtuous. For, how is it possible she can live happy with a man sixty years older than herself? Oh! how many beautiful young women have been ruined in this manner, by their parsimonious parents! Such parents, I will be bold to say, are more guilty in the sight of heaven, than the highway robber; for, he only takes the traveller's money; but they rob their child of peace and tranquillity here, and place such stumbling-blocks, such invincible temptations, before her, that it is almost impossible for her to retain her integrity, and, of course, she is plundered at the shrine of avarice, of her present and eternal peace.

In such marriages the lady, with virtue unsullied, and prudence unimpeachable, sometimes loses her good name; as people consider it impossible for her to be sentimentally, as well as practically virtuous, placed in such an indelicate situation. Her old husband, well considering circumstances, naturally suspects her of coquetry; for such men generally prove jealous husbands when possessed of young wives; and, indeed, the young libertine will naturally lay siege to such a lady's virtue, as he suspects, that she has every reason to encourage an intrigue. Thus is she brought into the very [illegible] of destruction by her insane parents, and if she miraculously escapes being contaminated, her good name is still liable to be tarnished by calumny, and adulterated by the censorious.

"Who steals my purse, steals trash;
'Tis something, nothing—'twas mine, 'tis his,
And has been slave to thousands;
But he who filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that, which not enriches him,
But makes me poor indeed."

It sometimes happens, that very young women willingly marry old men, and thus sacrifice their own persons at the shrine of Mammon. They have to live with men they cannot love, as it were in a perpetual prison; they must submit to their caprice and jealousy, and all for the love of money, which they cannot enjoy; for what are riches when com-

pared to peace and tranquillity of mind? The characters of such silly avaricious fair ones are pointedly described by Lord Lyttleton.

"The most abandon'd courtezans are they,
Who not to love but avarice fall a prey,
And what avails the specious name of wife;
A maid so wedded, is a *Miss* for life."

I would not only forewarn young women from giving any liberty, incompatible with modesty, to their suitors, previous to marriage, as nothing is more calculated to cause such suitors, if scoundrels, (however affectionate) to forsake them for ever, than imprudence and immodesty on their part; but I would particularly advise them to be as careful to keep their affections alive, as to gain them before that ceremony. Neglecting this caution, has been the ruin of millions.

"Think not, the husband gain'd, that all is done,
The prize of happiness must still be won;
And oft the fair one finds that to her cost,
The lover in the husband may be lost."

I may also hint at the injustice of separating true and worthy lovers on account of wealth; such cruel proceedings have produced many a suicide; and brought many a loving couple through complicated scenes of sorrow and woe, to a premature death.

None know their grief but they who lov'd so well,
They, only they can half their sorrow tell;
These, only these can pity, weep, and melt,
Those cannot sympathize who never felt.

Disappointed love has slain its thousands of the human family; and a great proportion of them, through the inflexibility and capriciousness of parental impolicy, penurious solicitude, or family pride. How many cruel parents, with more than savage insensibility, have sacrificed their children's present and eternal happiness, before they would relinquish a particle of their wealthy pride and hereditary pretensions!

A powerful motive to humanity is, the impossibility of avoiding the malediction and penalties of that august tribunal,—that omnipresent monitor, that inexorable reprover, *conscience*. Though you may escape the laws and censures of men, you cannot escape this divinity, planted in your own breast, who is always accusing or excusing, commending or reprehending according to the merit or demerit of your actions. If you take the wings of an angel and fly into the heavens, or of a demon into the pit of hell, or the uttermost parts of the earth, you cannot possibly escape the scrutiny of this impartial judge, this true monitor. If there were no future rewards and punishments, would it not be wisdom in you to live a humane life, to avoid the lashes of a guilty conscience? Which of the faculties of the human mind improve by following the fashions and fopperies of any age? For my part I do not know of any. It rather poisons their energies, prevents their useful tendencies, and at last contaminates the innocent pleasures of life; nay, ruins the constitutions of its votaries. That young woman, who caught a cold, a consumption, and a premature death, by following the fashions, proves the force of my arguments; as well as her companion, whose pallid countenance and emaciated body, declares to every candid mind that the shrine of fashion commonly called the temple of pleasure, is rather the receptacle of pollution, the repository of disorder, and the sepulchre of death.

To demonstrate the fatality of indulging injudicious attachments, and allowing men of loose morals too much familiarity, I need only point to the histories of many unhappy females, who became the victims of matrimonial infelicity through injudicious prepossessions. Some females who profess to be discerning and discreet, will not hesitate to affirm, that "a reformed rake makes the best husband." I am truly astonished that a woman of common discretion and virtue, would harbour such a thought, much less express such a sentiment! Surely she cannot be acquainted with human nature, the depravity of the heart and the invincibility of bad habits, or she would not suppose that such a man can make a good virtuous husband. No man who may properly be denominated a libertine, can make (I will not say a good, but even) a just husband. No evil propensity is more unconquerable when confirmed by habit, and

constitutional weakness, than incontinence; and though such men, when they place their affections on women, and find seduction impracticable to accomplish their wishes, they of course marry them, previously making promises of eternal constancy; yet, alas! the moment opportunity offers (for, by the by, they will not require importunity to solicit), they turn like the dog to his vomit, or the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire; and, indeed, I will say this much for them, they cannot conquer their inclination, while under the influence of this dreadful depravity.

I refer to facts to prove my arguments:—witness how many wives are neglected and despised by their husbands, who are the uniform attendants of places of infamous resort, and the violent votaries of seduction. Admit, for argument's sake, that the reformed rake does prove faithful to the bridal bed; yet then, even then, let the virtuous female make a comparative estimate of his character, and that of a uniformly modest man—who has a pure heart and unadulterated affections, to present to the woman of his choice. She can never, in the moments appropriated to reflection, think or say of her husband;—he has by intemperance corrupted his principles, vitiated his taste for domestic enjoyments, enslaved himself to the most detestable crimes, often laid the snares of seduction, ruined female innocence, and abandoned to infamy and shame the girls who adored him, and whom he seduced from the paths of virtue; he has haunted all the brothels within his reach, and, after all, presented me with the leavings of strumpets, a ruined constitution, a depraved heart, and a corrupt taste, which only requires an opportunity when it will be immediately gratified.—In short, the bitter lamentations and unutterable sorrow of thousands of slighted consorts, will give the lie in form to the absurd assertion, that a "reformed rake makes the best husband."

Though you are bound with great deference to obey your parents in every thing else, yet you must not on any account obey them, when their injunctions tend to cause you to disobey God, and murder your own souls. You should forego your parental home, and even sacrifice your life, before you should obey them in this instance; yet, notwithstanding their degeneracy and depravity, you are to remember they are still your parents, and you should nurture, cherish, venerate, love,

and serve them, to the utmost extent of your power, and to the last moment of their lives. Remember how they supplied your wants in helpless infancy, bore with the peevishness of your childhood, and protected and directed you while in the slippery paths of youth. They warded off the danger by which you were threatened; and, perhaps, risked their own lives to save yours. They pitied and pardoned your wayward indiscretions, and youthful folly; and, when they used the rod, it was with parental tears trickling down their cheeks; and even now, when they lead you on the stage of fashionable life, though it is as slippery as glass, while fiery billows roll below it; they do it, with the most earnest desire, and anxious solicitude to promote your happiness. Do not detest, but pity them; let the magnitude of your filial and sympathetic compassion run parallel with their blindness and degeneracy, their fashionable follies and splendid wretchedness. Remember what anxiety and labor they endured, while making provision for your comfortable and respectable accommodation. You are now in the morning of life; but remember, your sun may set at noon.

While on this subject of unequal connections, we might dilate on the physical and constitutional fitness of the wedded pair, but this highly important department is with more propriety consigned to medical writers.

The primary object of this work is to bring the versatile sons and daughters of folly, into the delightful path in which true pleasure abounds. Pleasure is the first gift of the Eternal, the most amiable and most beloved daughter of Heaven; but, alas! the fugitive sojourner on earth, the inmate of the social and sentimental philanthropist, which expands, humanizes, and exhilarates his heart, is but the exile and outcast of the unsocial, the selfish, the parsimonious and the penurious votaries of sensuality. Is pleasure to be found at the table of riotous festivity, in the venial arms of illicit love, in the haunts of debauchery and disgust, meanness and madness? Surely not. Pleasure was made for man, and man was made for pleasure; for we cannot suppose a God, who is, was, and ever will be, great in goodness, and good in greatness, would make man for pain, and pain for man—it is impossible. The moment we form such an estimate of the Deity, we literally

insinuate that he is great in badness, and bad in greatness, in other words a demon. But pleasure is of a delicate temperature, social, not sensual; angelic and not satanic; she disclaims consanguinity with rudeness and cruelty, and is always solicitious to maintain the honor of human nature; promotes at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, the pleasurable feelings not only of humanity, but of the whole sensitive creation. She even views, with regret, the bleating lamb, and wooing turtle-dove, consigned to death by the ruthless hand of power and pride. She delights to dwell in the sympathetic bosom of the fair philanthropist; she nurtures luxuriance of thought, benevolence of sentiment, and munificence, practically as well as theoretically; she shrinks with horror from the rude alarms of war, from the clarion clangor of anarchy, and rushes precipitate and disrobed from the panting, boisterous, and turbulent bosom of the ardent and impetuous warrior, and seeks in the sequestered abode of female gentleness, the shelter she is bereaved of in the habitations of men; she makes the bed of death a bed of roses.

Your sex should think for yourselves, and think at large, how noble you are by nature, susceptible of transcendent improvements, fearfully and wonderfully made. Liberty of opinion is as much your privilege as ours, and is your natural inheritance, as much as your personal liberty.

Human nature has long groaned, and still groans under the tyranny of custom. By this means, the female mind is imprisoned in christian as well as pagan countries. Vindicate, therefore, the transcendent prerogatives of your nature, and magnanimously resolve no more to be the slaves of fashion, and the dupes of our sex. It is the true interest of ours to encourage freedom of investigation among your sex. Some monsters have had the affrontery to assert, that women should be confined to domestic avocations alone, and should leave the pursuits of arts, sciences, and politics, to men; and of course have reprobated the freedom of investigation for the gentler sex, for which I contend. To demonstrate the cogency of this remark, and the fallacy, fatality, and absurdity of such subterfuges, I would ask, what kind of partner, or, to use scriptural language, helpmate, will a woman, who has been educated as they generally are at present, make for an intelligent

and benevolent man? What harmony can exist between them in a social point of view? Surely none at all. He can take no more pleasure in her conversation than if she was of another species; consequently though their connubial tenderness may be reciprocal, their intellectual and social intercourse is far otherwise.

For what was every faculty adapted to scientific as well as moral improvement given you, in the same proportion as to us? Were they given by another god, or by an unjust and partial hand? God is not, and why shall man be a respecter of persons. These qualifications and capacities were given to you for improvement; and, by neglecting to cultivate them, you sin against the law of Nature, and Nature's God. And he is a fallacious foe to your sex, who attempts to establish the worst kind of tyranny over them—I mean the tyranny of the mind. What illiberal monopolizers of dignity are to be found among the sons of men, in every part of the world. How can they be such implacable enemies to your gentle sex? But it is your business to counteract their malevolent machinations, by using unwearied assiduity, in attaining a useful education: and, if you should already have arrived at the years of maturity, and cannot attend to scholastic resources and researches, you may attain, notwithstanding, by indefatigable perseverance, a sufficiency of elementary information, to put you on an equality, in point of intellectual improvement, with a great majority of our sex. For my part, I have attained more information in nine months, by my individual endeavors, than I did from the most ingenious tutors, in one of the principal cities of Europe, in the same number of years. I, therefore, can speak with certainty on this head. The study of astronomy is my greatest delight; on this subject have I written, and on it do I still contemplate, not only with ineffable delight, but great benefit.

I would, therefore, encourage my fair readers, to appropriate less time to the decoration of their persons, and more to the improvement of their minds. The study of astronomy will be to them a most useful as well as entertaining source of luxurious investigation. The perusal of sacred and civil history will greatly enrich the mind; while the lighter study of belles lettres will embellish and ornament it.

Works of philanthropy, morality, and christian philoso[illegible]phy,

which develope what is harmonious and amiable in moral life, may be read with avidity, and be productive of utility. From them we derive a degree of mechanical virtue, and learn to abhor systematical vice. The humanizing influence of virtuous poetry, and its pathetic powers, may likewise be productive of charming sensibility, enthusiastic tenderness, and luxuriancy of sentiment. But in all your literary researches, you should never forget, that the ingenuity of the head, without ingeniousness of heart, will never render you amiable in the estimation of your own or our sex. If local circumstances should leave it out of your power to attain any degree of proficiency from the treasures of antiquity, remember that the august book of creation is open to all for investigation. In it, study the philosophy of nature. By this you may not only embellish your natural genius, but replenish your heart with unperishable beauties, from the inexhaustible magazine of benefactions.

Religion is made to appear the greatest mystery and phenomenon in nature; whereas it is, in reality, the most simple thing under the broad canopy of heaven, in short, nothing more than pure love to God and man. This love will stimulate the soul to the performance of actions, which, will be well pleasing to God and beneficial to man. The omission of duties, or the commission of sins, will grieve such a one more than any pain or punishment; and the performance of duties will be productive of the sacred pleasures which I have pointed out in the prefixed pages. Such a soul loves God for his own intrinsic excellence, and not for what he can give or take away. It is neither sinister nor selfish. The religion of such a man is seated in his heart, not his head.

Few can say as much; and I will assign a sufficient reason, namely, a mistaken notion of the severity of Providence, whose despotism is magnified at the expense of his munificence. It is ungenerous and unjust to impute to God the evils we bring upon ourselves, by our imprudence and disobedience. That freedom of will, which is the essence of our natural and moral powers, is perverted and corrupted by our perverseness, and misery is the necessary result.

How many make a pompous profession of religion, and implicitly depend on forms and ceremonies for salvation, while they are utterly destitute of that christian philanthropy which

should be the nerve of religion, and without which it is an empty name. Woe be to such professors, if God shows them no more compassion than they show to their brethren.

We will here transcribe a few of the rules, and the address of "The female Hospitable Society," that the reader may ascertain the universality, as well as the disinterestedness of their charity.

This institution is entitled, The Female Hospitable Society; Instituted for the Relief and Instruction of Sick and Indigent Widows and Orphans in particular, and Female Strangers in general.

ADDRESS TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY.

It is as true, as tragical a saying, "That one-half of the world does not know how the other half suffers." We need not look across the Atlantic ocean to behold innumerable objects of wretchedness to excite our warmest commiseration. In our own country, and even within the confines of the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, many, very many, poor distressed persons, have

"No eye to mark their sufferings with a tear,
No friend to comfort them, nor hope to cheer."

Their disconsolate situation is more easily conceived than expressed. As we are placed in a troublesome world, and live in a troublesome period of that world, is it not the indispensable duty, of at least religious and of benevolent persons, to make it as easy as possible to their distressed fellow-creatures? Those persons, therefore, who may happily have this performance to peruse, are most earnestly entreated in favor of the subsequent excellent charity. A few benevolent females, actuated by the most disinterested philanthropy, have associated together, for the laudable purpose of relieving the indigent of their own sex.

They will thankfully receive the smallest contributions. Any old clothes, unsaleable cloth, shoes or provisions, will be gladly accepted and immediately prepared for the use of the most needy objects of their charity.

Oh! that those who are blessed with abundance, and who too often forget their fellow-creatures' wants—Oh! that they would remember, that

"To sympathise and melt at human woe,
Is what the rich to the distressed owe."

Such children of misfortune should not only be relieved with liberality, but also with delicacy. While the hand of hospitality is extended to alleviate their wants, it should be done in such a manner, as not to suffuse the countenance with confusion. The compassionate and delicate conduct of Boaz to Ruth, is an admirable pattern for the members of charitable associations. Ruth being reduced to penury entreated Boaz to permit her to glean in his fields; he not only granted her request, but also commanded his young men, saying, "Let her glean even among the sheaves, and rebuke her not, and let fall some of the handfuls on purpose, and leave them that she may glean them, and reproach her not." This was a gracious action, done in a gracious way; and I would say to the unfeeling devotee, "Go thou and do likewise."

SOME RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

III. The Society is to consist exclusively of females; no men are to be admitted, only as donors and subscribers. Provided always, that the transactions of the Society shall at all times be open for their investigation.

IV. The Governess is to preside at all meetings, or in her absence, one to be chosen pro tempore. It shall be her duty to make out the appointments for the visiters, preserve order, state questions for discussion, and use her utmost endeavors to replenish the funds of the Society, and procure old apperel, damaged cloth, remnants, or even wrappings, which compassionate dry-good store-keepers may be disposed to bestow the Society. It shall be her duty to give such remnants, &c, to those charitable females who may be inclined to make them into clothes, to cover poor, naked and friendless orphans.

VII. The Visiting Committee is to consist of religious characters, who may be capable of instructing ignorant and afflicted females, without respect to persons of any nation, color or profession, who are destitute of earthly support.

It shall be their particular d[illegible]sit and instruct the distressed orphans, and wretched females in the Bettering-house, Hospital, and Prison; if permission to that effect can be obtained. The Governess is to appoint suitable members to pray with the sick, and exhort the healthy to seek the Lord while he may be found, &c. The Visiting Committee are to use their utmost endeavors to seek the abodes of ignorant, and defenceless females, especially such young orphan girls as are most liable to be enticed from the paths of virtue. It shall be their particular duty to use every prudent means to bring such lost sheep to the fold of Christ, and for this purpose to establish social meetings when they think good may be done thereby.

VIII. Females of every christian denomination shall be admitted as members of this Society; each member to pay as a sense of duty may direct; even two cents per week or twenty-five cents a quarter will be thankfully received.

X. As the spiritual and temporal relief of poor, needy, and desolate females, who have no eye to pity, nor hand to help them, is the particular object of this Society, it shall be the duty of each member, as she has opportunity, to give general information of the object of this charity, so that the children of affliction, while on sick or dying beds, when under concern for their souls' welfare, may know where to send for relief."

The members of this truly benevolent institution are indefatigable in their labor of love. Many thousands of distressed families, and individuals, have already been relieved and comforted through their instrumentality; but, alas! their funds are nearly exhausted, and the objects of their charity are numerous. Hence they are retarded in their philanthropic endeavors for the comfort of their distressed fellow-mortals.

Out of many classes of speculators who get rich on the labor of the poor, I stigmatize those who force poor honest widows, with orphan children, to make shirts for eight and twelve cents; and bind shoes for six, which they sell for, from one dollar twenty-five cents, to two dollars. In order to stop this shameful imposition, a disgrace to the city, I would entreat our humane citizens to establish a clothing manufactory, and employ, at reasonable wages, such helpless injured indi-

viduals, hundreds of whom are reduced to want and misery. On this subject, I quote the following appropriate article from the *Pennsylvania Enquirer*.

MEETING OF LADIES.

"A meeting of Ladies friendly to the establishment of a Society for improving the condition and elevating the character of Industrious Females," was held on Thursday, the 1st day of March, 1838, in one of the rooms of the Sunday School Union, Philadelphia. The object was, to devise the best means of co-operating with the citizens who are engaged in the laudable attempt to rescue from oppression and wretchedness those females whose faces are ground to the earth, by working for wages inadequate to support human nature, many of whom working six days in the week, twelve or thirteen hours per day, receive, beyond the rent of their miserable lodgings, less than six cents per day for their unceasing toil, for food, clothing, fuel, soap, candles, &c. and provide means, to improve the condition of that large portion of females in our city, who are compelled to support themselves and their little ones by their needles and other cheap employments. This meeting came about in consequence of the efforts of Matthew Carey and many others of our benevolent citizens. It is known that a society has been established, by these efforts, to improve the condition of females thus employed—that is, to endeavor to augment the avenues for their employment and at better prices, proportioned to what they do. If there was ever a cause that should awake the spontaneous aid of those who are able to give, this, it strikes us, is one.

The ladies, at their meeting, we are gratified to learn, took efficient measures to aid the cause, and, when the ladies of Philadelphia join in a cause of philanthropy, there is little doubt of its entire success.

Let those who object to out-door aid to the poor, think over the condition of a poor widow, with five or six little children dependent upon her needle for support. She has been accustomed to better days, perhaps, when her husband was alive, to provide food and garments for them: and must she now go with her little brood to the Alms house? Will she not wear her fingers off, over the midnight lamp, to pro-

vent this last step, which will break all ties of social intercourse, and take her offspring away from her motherly counsel and affection? And yet are not our large cities filled with such cases? With all our hearts we wish success to this society, and we rejoice that the ladies, who are the ministering angels of charity, have come to it with pure hearts and ready hands."

TO THE CAPITALISTS OF COMMON CONSIDERATION.

Gentlemen,—With the very same commiseration I now humbly beg for others, and respectfully address you. Because of all men in existence, you lay under the greatest responsibility to the Almighty searcher of all hearts, and observer of all our actions, and will have to give the most strict and awful account of your stewardship. I now solemnly, not prophetically declare to you and all the royal, rich, wise and mighty men of Christendom, what I declared to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, nearly twenty years ago, namely; "The period, I foresee, is not far distant, when reformation or desolation must be the order of the day in Europe. The agonizing groans of millions of his suffering, starving creatures, the victims of our moral corruptions, hourly pierce the heavens, and reach the throne of the Creator."

I would humbly ask you, if you had a number of children arrived to manhood, and one part, the cunning few, had all the necessaries of life in their possession, and kept it hoarded up perfectly useless, while they beheld without common commiseration their brothers and sisters starving for want.—You answer in a moment, I would command them to distribute their superfluous possessions and provisions, and punish them with severity if they did not immediately obey my mandate: and is God less just and generous, less compassionate and considerate for his children? Then you, out of your own mouth have pronounced your own condemnation, if you refuse to grant my present request, the little, trifling, almost no favor, I beg in behalf of the most injured, unpitied and insulted victims of our moral corruptions on earth, one other class only excepted; and I have vindicated their cause, while advocating the rights of man in fifty thousand copies of my books. To revive the subject here I know would be more

injurious than beneficial; suffice it to add, few have written and published more on their behalf, not many seen more of their sufferings on the land, and on the ocean, and I am sure not one has, does and ever will pity them more than myself.

Next to them I pity the many thousands of our common courtezans, their number has increased perhaps one hundred per centum, since I first publicly advocated their cause.

A few years ago I published two gratuitous pamphlets of thirty pages, and circulated hundreds, wherein I exerted all my simple eloquence, exhausted all my artless argumentation, to command the people's pity for them, but, alas! it was all in vain.

It may be asked, and would not one even listen to your tale of woe with tender sympathy; (a philanthropic and philosophical unbeliever excepted!) (☞ No not one! ☜) And what a sight is this for the King of kings, whose mercies are over all his works, to behold a city as full of Meeting-houses and Steeple-houses, Missionaries and Ministers, as Jerusalem was a little before its destruction by the Romans, and yet totally destitute of all moral obligation, tender sensibility, or even common humanity.

I have had it on my mind this long time, to send a letter to some one of the richer men in America, with one of the above pamphlets, and to tell him he could build a house of industry, and manufactory, as recommended in that pamphlet, and after this be still the richest man in his country, and be able when he died to leave all his relatives and friends independent, with princely fortunes. If Mr. R. would only for a moment consider, that parents leaving their children immense fortunes, has very often plunged them into the labyrinth of dissipation and destruction, hastened them to a premature grave, and finally proved their everlasting ruin; and that the same cause will produce the same effects, as it has often done before. If he would consider with what tormenting remorse and eternal regret, they look from the other world, with all their conscious sensibility at the fatal consequences of their unaccountable folly in this. Surely he will not refuse to grant my request, and give the historian an opportunity to present in the historic page, these words: "What all his fellow-citizens combined had not moral courage or magnanimous sympathy to accomplish, though earnestly and

eloquently entreated so to do, the patriotic and public spirited M. R. out of his own private funds has done, namely: Built and founded a house of industry, manufactory, &c, &c, for the reformation and employment of the most injured, insulted, although previously innocent persons on earth, namely: penitent prostitutes."

This brings to my mind our Saviour's great compassion for Mary Magdalene; who, of all his followers, was the most grateful and affectionate. For instance: she was the last at his cross, and the first at his sepulchre. And what a proof of the most supreme love did she manifest, when she washed his dear celestial feet with tears of penitential sorrow; those feet that went about doing good, to those in whom he beheld his future murderers!

Ah! I wish I dared to paint in living and true colors the mighty mass of misery which has compelled multitudes of such victims of our moral corruptions and degeneracy of public opinion, to seek in premature death the pity they implored in life, but implored, alas! in vain: so that even the unfeeling editors who have compelled me to take up my pen again, might feel some of the plenitude of their selfish insensibility and disregard to all moral obligation.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that I am appointed or appoint myself to guard a certain part of the river, where passengers, and particularly the blind, are in danger of falling in. Through my inattention one falls in, and is drowned without my knowledge, while I am attending to other superficial concerns: but suppose a child points out to me the person struggling in the water, in time for me to save his life with a very little exertion, and I refuse to do it—would I not according to every principle of common justice and common sense, be truly reprehensible, if not punishable, in the first instance, and the man's cruel murderer in the second? Without any manner of doubt. But admitting it is out of my power to save his life, but by merely putting the speaking trumpet of my profession to my mouth, and calling for help, I could accomplish this valuable object, and I, through the immensity of my selfishness, refused even to use this little trifling, almost no exertion, to save human life, would not his blood be on my head? Would I not be at your bar—at the bar of

God and conscience? I am sure I would be—his murderer! You are bound to be the guardians of the public weal from the press, as the ministers of religion are, or ought to be, from the pulpit. No tongue can express, no imagination conceive the misery and misfortune, the poverty, pain and pollution, produced by these reservoirs of prost[illegible]tion. But what pains me to my heart's core, is the reflection, that so many thousands of very young girls, whom God has made for glorious purposes, with beautiful persons, and endowed with noble faculties, capable of almost angelic perfection here, and high beatitude hereafter, are demoralized, degraded and disgraced, "before they can discern between their right hand and their left," or know the fatality of those stumbling-blocks placed before them, by those who are bound by all laws, human and divine, to be their protectors.

While every encouragement and facility is given to male libertinism to destroy female innocence, artlessness, and unsuspecting candor, should there not be more encouragement given to female penitence, when the spirit of love calls them to repentance? The rich, fashionable, eloquent, fascinating, fawning, handsome rake, is freely admitted to every party, they continue till from 12 to 3 or 4—and the artful libertine, with perhaps the word matrimony on his flattering tongue, but the potent, I had almost said the omnipotent arts of seduction in his heart, is permitted to escort the confiding, unsuspecting, accomplished, affectionate, generous, benevolent or beautiful female home, and suffered to remain alone with her till dawn of day, while the rest of the family are retired to rest. Is it any wonder, then, that our cities should be crowded with multitudes of private and public prostitutes? Was I to particularize their exact number, the people would simultaneously exclaim, in the language of unbelief, "It is impossible." And is there a mother who will give this salutary and necessary caution to her youthful and inexperienced daughter,

> My dear, remember, let the thought sink deep—
> Nay, at the very prospect you should weep—
> 'The heedless girl, who stoops to guilty joys,
> A man may pity, and he may despise."

Indeed, some men consider it an act of justifiable precaution in the search of a wife, to try, prove and ascertain, her virtue and prudence, before marriage; this may be well enough, but how base the destroyers who first delude their victims, and then consign them to infamy and perdition without any pity, or protection.

At present, if a penitent courtezan wishes to turn from the pollution before her, and applies for relief or refuge, she is at best set to the most drudging work. Many of them were never brought up to work; this they cannot do—to beg they are ashamed—hence they too often turn to their pollution again. This demonstrates the utility of a house of industry, and manufactory, suitable to the ingenious heads and pliable fingers of girls who have received a finished education before their downfall, and similar to those connected with the Magdalen asylums of Europe. ☞ See Lady Morgan's Book of the Boudoir and the charitable bazaars of Dublin.

A few capitalists might associate in every large city, and organize such beneficent institutions, heaven would approve, conscience rejoice, their fellow citizens admire, the reformed courtezans would bless them while alive, and the historic page and sculptured marble record their magnanimity, philanthropy and public spirit when dead; and posterity would with veneration point to their tombs and say, Here lies the remains of the honorable men who had compassion on the most injured and insulted, unpitied, unprovided, despised and disregarded of the human family; whose innocent, artless and unsuspecting candor, parental neglect, maternal imprudence, the degeneracy of public opinion, but above all, the infernal, the popular arts of seduction brought to premature prostitution, infamy, degradation, disease and disgrace; yes, they will say with admiration and veneration, here lies the remains of those noble men by nature, who had compassion on those unfortunates, when all around were dead to pity, and lost to all sense of moral obligation!!

Perhaps some will censure my ardent manner of pleading the cause of suffering humanity, and even call it a perverted philanthropy. Had they seen the hundredth part of human misery I have seen, they would no doubt be of a different opinion. Where is the person of common compassion who could behold without pity, the tears of inexpressible agony,

falling in swift succession from the eyes of the perishing mother on her starving infant, and freezing as they fall. When I have even seen with my bodily eyes beautiful and well dressed courtezans, skipping along, unconscious of their exposed state, and dead to future woe, I have thought with Dr. Young,

"Take then, Oh! world, that much indebted tear,
How sad a sight is human happiness
To those whose thoughts can pierce beyond an hour."

I would that all female philanthropists, particularly those of the Catholic, Methodist, Moravian, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Baptist churches, would imitate an amiable member of the amiable Society of "Friends," in her persevering and philanthropic labor of love, among the most wretched of the human family, and hundreds if not thousands of such patterns of pious and prosperous charity might be mentioned among female Friends.

The liberality of sentiment manifested by the Society of Friends, in this respect, is truly admirable and worthy of imitation; and, also, the appearance and apparel of their young women. How amiable, how modest, and how becoming.

Gentleness was made for woman, and woman was created gentle, nothing ornaments and embellishes a female more than modest apparel and amiable demeanor, and *vice versa*, with rudeness and imprudence.

We will now exhibit a small specimen of the charitable labors of the above amiable "female Friends," for the example and imitation of all the ministers, missionaries and pious matrons in Christendom; it is taken from the memoir of an American traveller in London.

"A morning in Newgate.—I had long been anxious to see with my own eyes the effect of Mrs. Fry's benevolent exertions, and, having obtained from her an order of admittance, I repaired at ten o'clock to the door of the keeper's house, where, upon the production of my ticket, I was instantly conducted to a small room in which some other visiters were already assembled; and in a short time, Mrs. Fry entered, attended by two of her quaker sisterhood. Soon afterwards a bell was rung, to give notice to the female prisoners to prepare themselves; and upon the second ringing, they came

in, to the number of forty or fifty, and ranged themselves on tiers of benches raised one above the other for their reception. Their appearance was much better than I could have expected. All were cleanlily and decently dressed, and there was in some a neatness of person that bespoke a familiarity with better company and better days. After a considerable pause, Mrs. Fry began to read from the Bible, the story of Mary Magdalene, accompanying the text with occasional explanations and remarks, and concluding the whole with a very affecting address, in which she pointed out the obvious application of the story, and the consolation to be extracted from it. All this was done too in so gentle and encouraging a tone, and with so much temper and discretion, that it was impossible not to be moved by the quiet pathos of her discourse. I was never before so impressed with the importance of *manner*; for it was certainly much less what she said than her mode of saying it that produced so great an effect;—it was a beautiful personification of the text in scripture, "the wisdom that cometh from above is *gentle*." Her auditors listened to her with all the signs of the most serious and earnest attention, and many were melted into tears by the touching tenderness of her appeal, in pointing out the penitence and contrition of Mary Magdalene as the true objects of imitation.

"At the close of the lecture, various articles of needlework, the productions of the prisoners' industry, caps, dressing-gowns, baby-linen, rugs, counterpanes, bell-ropes, &c, were brought out, which found ready purchasers amongst the visiters. For myself, I shall wear my patch-work gown as long as the shreds will hang together, in remembrance of my morning in Newgate. Mrs. Fry now conducted us round the female side of the prison, explaining the nature of her regulations, and recounting the obstacles against which, in the first commencement of her labors, she had to contend, in all the different shapes and modifications that idleness drunkenness, riot, vice, and wretchedness, can assume. It seems, however, that there is scarcely any disposition so depraved that may not be touched by *kindness*. The patient and persevering efforts of Mrs. Fry, have succeeded in softening and reclaiming the most hardened, whom severity would probably have rendered only more callous and desperate.

There is a shame of appearing ungraceful which operates strongly even in the most vicious breast. Mrs. Fry told us, that when, as it sometimes will happen, a prisoner after her discharge finds her way back into gaol for some fresh offence, the delinquent is more afraid of meeting her kindness, than of facing the reproof of the Bench:—

"There lies more peril, lady, in thine eye,
Than twenty of their swords—,"

The heart even of the guilty rises up to resist and defy reproach, but sinks with all the humiliation of self-condemnation at the accents of kindness which it feels that it does not deserve.

"In the course of our round we came to the school, where there was a little circle of gaol-delivered children learning to read. I was pleased at the alacrity of attention, which in the midst of her own occupation Mrs. Fry bestowed upon the feelings of the least of those around her. A very little boy was employed in reading his Testament, at which she appeared surprised, but finding that he had really made this progress, she called him out in the most encouraging manner, and begged us all to stop and hear him read a verse aloud, as a reward for his industry. It is not every woman who would be content to yield, even for a moment, the first place in the attention of her company. Lastly, we came to a ward where there were a few ragged wretched creatures, who were just admitted into the goal;—and we were all forcibly struck, not only with the difference of dress, but with the marked contrast between the wild, savage and reprobate cast of features of these, when compared with the quiet, orderly, and resigned demeanor of Mrs. Fry's flock. And yet I hear that this amiable woman's labors are derided and ridiculed, as the vain and visionary offspring of a perverted philanthropy. If there be such persons in the world, let them devote a morning to Newgate; and if those who came to scoff do not remain to approve—Charity must have lost all her powers of attraction.

"There is, perhaps, no part of the art of government in which so little progress has been made as in the prevention of crimes; for it is the punishment rather than the prevention of crime which seems to be almost the exclusive object of

the laws. So much so, that it would seem crimes were sometimes encouraged, in order that they might be punished. This, however, is a large question, and it is easier to see the evil, than to point out the remedy. Still, while things remain as they are, we should be grateful to those who undertake the task of reclaiming the wicked."

Let the innocent female fly the company of a rake, as she would the approach of a poisonous reptile. Any young woman who gives her company in private to such a character, if she preserves her chastity, which is uncertain, she at least risks her reputation. "Never fear," has been the forerunner of the disgrace and infamy of many a respectable man's daughter. Girls who are too self-confident in their own strength, are always most easily seduced. Their only safety consists in precaution. A prudent girl should not admit any suiter till she carefully examines his character, habits and natural disposition. An artful libertine, when he casts his vulture's eyes upon a beautiful, amiable, virtuous young woman, immediately assumes the demeanor of a prudent and modest man; as he well knows if he appears in his real character, he will be rejected with scorn. He of course, pays his addresses to his intended victim, proposes marriage, professes much attachment, and vows eternal constancy and love. He easily gains the affections of the innocent unsuspecting girl; she loves him to distraction. Then, and not till then, will he attack her virtuous intentions; still keeping his real character out of view. As he has gained her confidence, he retains it till he has destroyed her peace or virtue. She thinks it impossible so much apparent goodness and tenderness can be affected; he raises obstacles and objections to the matrimonial alliance, at least for the present; but swears by the Bible and by all that is sacred, that he will prove faithful to the hour of his death; and that they are in reality married in the sight of heaven; and that when circumstances will admit, it shall be consummated by a minister. Under such temptations is it any wonder that thousands of innocent and unsuspecting females, are sunk in the sink of premature prostitution!

They should view with horror, and repulse with decision and scorn, the man who makes the smallest attack on their

virtue. Let it shock you with the quickness of electricity, and let the repulse be instantaneous. How many unsuspecting, unconscious, and virtuous females, have been ruined by neglecting this precaution. The lover or suiter, first appears with diffidence and conscious shame, to assault the delicacy of the silly fair one. She repulses him indeed with gentle reproof, but not with suitable indignation and horror of heart, and her pusillanimity only tends to render still more invincible his guilty intentions.

Once seduced from the paths of virtue, filled with conscious fear and shame, the unhappy female flies the indignant presence of her former friends, and seeks that refuge in a brothel, which she has relinquished in her paternal home. She mourns and pines, but pines and mourns in vain. Now left abandoned, desolate, depraved; she seeks, as her only alternative, to drown her sorrows in repeated dilutions of ardent spirits, as the antidote of her woes, as the solace of her anguish, as the most efficacious means of obliterating the remembrance of her former happiness, her better days. But, alas! she mistakes the poison for the medicine; and, while attempting to erase from her mind the remembrance and guilt of one vice, she perpetrates another. Thus she becomes the premature martyr of intoxication as well as prostitution. View her, at the door of that tippling shop extended on the ground; not only stupid, but senseless through ebriety; a prey to every unprincipled ruffian, and a spectacle for the unpitying passenger.

Her delicate constitution cannot support itself, under the scenes of debauchery and infamy in which she is necessarily involved. Her emaciated and languid appearance, bespeak her disorder, and is the mittimus to have her conveyed to the Poor-house. Here I will draw the scene; and refer those who wish further to view it, to my "Female Character," "Pleasures of Paradise," &c.

"Ah, little think the gay licentious proud,
When pleasure, pow'r and affluence surround:
They who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth
And wanton, often cruel riot, waste;
Ah! little think they while they dance along,
How many feel, this very moment death,
And all the sad variety of pain.

How many sink in the devouring flood
Or more devouring flame. How many bleed,
By shameful variance betwixt man and man:
How many pine in want, and dungeon glooms,
Shut from the common air; and common use,
Of their own limbs. How many drink the cup
Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread
Of misery! Sore pierc'd by wintry winds,
How many shrink into the sordid hut
Of cheerless poverty! How many shake
With all the fiercer tortures of the mind,
Unbounded passion, madness, guilt, remorse;
How many, rack'd, with honest passions, droop
In deep retir'd distress. How many stand
Around the death-bed of their dearest friends,
And point the parting anguish. Thought fond man
Of these and all the thousand nameless ills,
That one incessant struggle render life,
One scene of toil, of suffering, and of fate,
Vice in his high career would stand appall'd,
And heedless rambling impulse learn to think;
The conscious heart of charity would warm,
And her wide wish benevolence dilate;
The social tear would rise, the social sigh;
And into clear perfection, gradual bliss,
Refining still, the social passions work." *Thomson.*

"They (the Houyhnhyms) will have it that nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that maketh a distinction of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue.

"Temperance, industry, exercise and cleanliness, are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes, and my master thought it monstrous in us to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management: whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world; and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of our brutality." *Swifts Gulliver.*

"The interior of savage countries would probably now be unknown to us, had not the hardy travellers, who have explored those regions, been sustained in sickness, and in want, by the benevolence of females. But for this, Mungo Park, in his first tour, would have laid his bones in the interior of Africa. But for this, Ledyard, the celebrated American traveller, would have died, (if such a thing were possible,) a hundred deaths. In his extensive wanderings through inhospitable and savage regions, he suffered incredible hardships from cold, hunger, and disease; but he avers that in his utmost need he never addressed himself in vain to the sympathies of the female heart. In his account of his Siberian pilgrimage, he observes; "I have always remarked, that women, in all countries, are civil, obliging, tender, and humane: that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest; and that they do not hesitate, like men, to perform a generous action. Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar, if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so: and to add to this virtue, (so worthy the appellation of benevolence,) these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that if I was thirsty, I drank the sweetest draught; and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish." Such is the testimony of a man who possessed a strong and discriminating mind; and who had, perhaps, as good an opportunity of observing human nature, in all its shades and varieties, as ever fell to the lot of any individual.

"A recent French writer, L. Aimé-Martin, has given to the world two volumes on this important and interesting subject. This work is entitled, *De l'Education des mères de familles, ou de la civilization du genre humain par les Femmes.* "On the education of mothers of families, or the civilization of the human race by the instrumentality of women." The author has treated this subject with a force and an eloquence

which will carry conviction to the mind of every reflecting reader.

"The influence of the mother over her children, the untiring assiduity of maternal love,—the lasting, the indelible impressions made upon the infant mind, by maternal instruction and advice; and the consequent necessity that females should be educated, not merely by giving them light, and trivial, and fashionable accomplishments; but, by cultivating the higher powers, and faculties of the mind, by developing the understanding, and teaching them to think, and to reason,—are discussed in an impressive manner. This production has made a strong and favorable impression, say the English Reviewers, throughout France, Belgium and Germany. The French Academy awarded to Aimé-Martin several thousand francs, as a prize for his work. A few short extracts will give some idea of the character of the work."

"Teachers enough will be found," says the author, "to impart learning; the mother alone can impart virtuous sentiments. A good mother will seize upon her child's heart, as her special field of activity. To be capable of this, is the great end of female education; to be capable of this, females must be taken out of their present narrow circle of acquirements, and introduced at once to what makes human beings better and happier." At the close of the work, he observes, "I have reached the end of my labors. I have shown that no universal agent of civilization exists, but our mothers. Nature has placed our infancy and youth in their hands. To this one and acknowledged truth, I have been the first to declare the necessity of making them, by improved education, capable of fulfilling their natural mission. The love of God and man is the basis of my system. In proportion as it prevails, national enmities will disappear; prejudices become extinguished; civilization spread itself far and wide; one great people cover the earth, and the reign of God be established. This reign of God is the happiness of man, secured by his increasing virtues; to be hastened by the watchful care of mothers over their offspring, from the cradle upwards."

The Westminster Review, in closing a notice of the first volume, remarks: "It abounds in striking passages, and deserves to be studied by all who have at heart the best interests of society at large." *Samuel Young's Suggestions.*

REMARKS OF MR. THOMAS HERTELL, IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK, MAY 20, 1836, ON THE RESOLUTION OFFERED BY HIM TOUCHING THE RIGHTS AND PROPERTY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

Resolved, That a select committee be appointed to inquire and report to this house, at the present or succeeding session of the legislature, what provisions, if any, will be proper and necessary to be made by law, the better to protect the rights and property of married women from injury and waste by means of the improvident, prodigal, intemperate and dissolute habits and practices of their husbands.

I offer this resolution, not so much with any expectation that, at this late day of the session, it can obtain any efficient legislative action, as with a view of placing it on the journals of the house, and with the hope that it may elicit public attention to the subject matter of it, and at some future session be honored with that favorable consideration and efficient legislative action, which any measure having for its object the improvement of the moral and social condition and happiness of our fellow-citizens, justly deserves.

I am aware of the disposition too often manifested by a portion of mankind, to take alarm at the proposition of any new measure, which may tend to disturb settled habits of thinking and acting on any subject or matter of physical or even moral improvement. But this as often arises from a settled habit of not thinking or reflecting at all on the matter, as from any radical error in the principle of the proposed measure, or from any rational evidence of its inutility or impracticability. Opinions and actions are as often the effect of habitual and thoughtless acquiescence in existing laws, as they are the result of reflection and investigation. Hence every proposition for new measures is very liable to be regarded by prejudice, with jealousy and alarm; and without investigation or reason, is too often scouted as visionary and delusive, or denounced and condemned as a useless or mischievous innovation; as if that term were applicable to error only.

That the measure contemplated by the proposed resolution, is an innovation, I readily admit. But it is an innovation on a law, which is unjust in principle, oppressive in its operation, and demoralizing in its results. In truth, such innovation is not only the object, but the only merit of the proposed resolution. That the proposition to restore the rights and preserve the property of married females from waste, is neither visionary nor delusive, useless nor impracticable, could be easily demonstrated, were anticipated and naked assertions deemed of sufficient importance to merit refutation.

It is perhaps not necessary, nor do I intend at this time, to go into a detailed statement of the remote origin of the existing law of this state, by which married women are as absolutely and entirely divested of their right and title to their personal property, and of the management and control of it, as if they, like African captives, had been sold slaves to a master. Nor is this all; the husband also becomes possessed of the income of the wife's real estate, and has the exclusive and uncontrolled disposition of it, during his lifetime, however long he may survive the real owner, and however many wives he may subsequently have, to enjoy the property of their predecessors. Is this just? Is this righteous? Is this good and sound policy to be pursued under a government instituted for the preservation of equal rights? Yet such is the law of this state; and it is but the reckless and inconsiderate re-enactment by the legislature of a free people, of a law which originated in the dark ages, in a foreign country, in which an absolute and despotic king, and an intolerant and persecuting clergy, ruled a people oppressed, demoralized and degraded, by an unhallowed combination of political and ecclesiastical tyranny;—the cardinal policy and radical object of which were, to keep the people in ignorance of their rights and their power, that they might with the greater facility be rendered subservient to the venal purposes of those who impiously claimed to derive from Divine authority their right to govern, misrule and oppress the human race.

One effect of this law, if not one of its objects, in the country from which we derive it, was to induce parents and guardians to negotiate prematurely the marriage contracts of their infant children and wards; and to influence and direct their marriage settlements and associations, not according to

the will or affections of the parties, but as best suited the selfish and sordid views of those who were most interested in perverting matrimonial contracts to the purposes of mercenary speculation and venal political ambition. Thus were children prematurely disposed of in marriage and deprived of the right to choose such a partner for life as they might think most congenial to their affections, and most propitious to their hopes of domestic happiness.—What but waste, demoralization and misery could be expected to follow such proceedings?

By depriving the wife of her property, and vesting it in her husband, as before stated, she becomes in a manner, a pauper, dependant even for subsistence solely on her husband. Should he be in *truth*, what he ought to be in *fact* and hence fulfil his marriage obligations, the wife's situation would not only be tolerable, but doubtless happy. But should he, as is lamentably too frequently the case, especially when the marriage shall have been contracted for mercenary purposes, contract intemperate and dissolute habits, and become improvident, prodigal and profligate, reckless of his own reputation, and heedless of the feelings of his wife and the fate of his family, I ask, what then is her situation—what then her chance or prospect of happiness, or comfort for herself or her children? Can imagination fancy a human being more unjustly treated—more injured and abused—more wretched and unhappy, than a virtuous, affectionate, prudent and industrious wife, and tender hearted and anxious mother, when she sees herself deprived of the affections of her husband, or finds herself the victim of a mercenary marriage—when she feels her dependance on a man who has withdrawn his affections, or who never felt so much interest for her, as for her money—when she sees her property lavished by a profligate husband on infamous women, or lost at the gambling table, or wasted in rioting, drunkenness and other irregular and dissolute habits—when she knows that her kind counsel is unheeded—her anxious supplications unavailing—her earnest admonitions disregarded—her energetic remonstrances contemned—all resistance useless, and all remedy beyond her reach—when she sees poverty approaching her door, with want and misery in its train—when she casts her half distracted thoughts a little forward and contemplates her helpless and suffering children, destitute of the means of education—

reared in ignorance—levelled to the lowest grade of society—exposed to vicious associations and evil examples, with no probable chance of escaping the paths of vice which lead to crime, infamy and misery. And lastly, when she sees "no ray of hope to relieve the unvaried gloom of her blighted prospects" of happiness for herself or family? I ask again, what human being is more unjustly treated—more injured, abused, and unhappy, or more to be commiserated than a wife and a mother, when subjected to the evils abovementioned; or than her children, who as a necessary consequence, are involved in the misfortunes of their afflicted parent?

This is no "fancy's sketch;" it is a scene of real life, and of so frequent occurrence as to attract but little notice or to receive much consideration. But will the legislature constituted by the people as the guardian of equal rights, turn a blind eye to such injustice—a deaf ear to the appeals of injured innocence—and will they not even institute an inquiry into the cause of the evil, nor seek nor apply a remedy to the wrong? Such culpable indifference to the interests and welfare of their constituents, and to the evils which encompass them, ought not to be anticipated.

I have had occasion often to remark, that our country has exhibited the anomalous and inconsistent spectacle of having established a constitution and government based on the sovereign power of the people and the principle of equal rights, and then adopting laws which originated many ages since under a monarchical government, and were intended and calculated to sustain it; thus engrafting on the indigenous tree of American Liberty, scions from the *Bohon-Upas* of of exotic despotism, tending thereby to disease the body politic of our free government, to endanger the free institutions of our country, and to destroy the liberties of the people.

From this source are derived all, or most of the evils which elicit the loud, frequent, and well grounded complaints which are now so generally heard against our whole judiciary system, the endless delays and oppressive expense of which, amount in many cases to a denial of justice, and in others, certain ruin to those who are unfortunately obliged to seek redress through that channel, and also to those who are involuntarily compelled to defend themselves against wrongs attempted to be affected through the existing forms of law,

or the multifarious, endless and expensive proceedings in Equity. The whole fabric of our present judiciary must be demolished, and all the rotten rubbish of obselete, antiquated and complex principles, forms and proceedings of feudal times, which have been incautiously retained in, or incorporated with, our judiciary system, and by which it has become inadequate to its intended purpose, must be swept away, before any system more simple, prompt and less expensive—more propitious to the furtherance of justice—more consistent with the object of our free government—more congenial with the spirit and provisions of our constitution, and more in harmony with the equal rights and liberties of the people, can be fully reared and accomplished.

"From the same source," as I have already said in a printed document now in my hand, "are also derived those wrongs by which the female portion of the community are still degraded to the level of that barbarous state of society, as it existed when a despotic government made the laws by which the "American fair" are still governed and abused. Being interdicted by law, when married, to have any legitimate will of their own, their reasoning faculties are held in little estimation, and become enfeebled for want of due cultivation. Their intellectual acquirements being, in a measure, thus made to correspond with their legal stultification, they in truth become possessed of little or no mind of their own; and hence are in fact as in law, the very slaves of their legal "lords and masters.'"

"The law by which the property of married females is taken from them and vested in their husbands, like that of other slaves, in their masters, is productive of a train of injustice and misery in the community."

"By the operation of the law in question, the property of unmarried females becomes an object of speculation to tempt the cupidity of venal suiters; who being thus induced to marry from mercenary considerations only, the nuptial contract is soon succeeded by a perversion of the objects and a violation of the obligations of the marriage institution. The property of the unfortunate victim affording the means of dissipation, is often wasted in riot, gambling and other vice, while its real and bereft owner is often left with a family to struggle against privation and poverty, with scarcely any

other resource to avoid pauperism, than to linger out a miserable existence on the scanty and half-paid avails of her needle, or to resort for relief to the abodes of infamy for wages more adequate to the expense of necessary subsistence."

Thus deprived of their rights and divested of their property and their means of subsistence, and, owing also to the mean and scanty avails to be derived from female industry, being unable to obtain the means of maintaining her impoverished, suffering, and helpless offspring; is it wonderful that a woman, encompassed with irremediable difficulties, influenced by the natural and dominant impulse of maternal affection, driven to the last extremity of abject poverty, and half frantic with tribulation, rather than see her innocent children famishing for want of a crust to sustain life, would resort to means from which her virtuous feelings, unschathed by injustice and unharrowed by affliction, would involuntarily revolt with horror? Is it not more wonderful that, under the operation of the existing law, and its concurrent auxiliaries, there are not many more than there now are, who fall victims to its unjust provisons and its demoralizing influence? And were there less, or even none, who have under the pressure of injustice and misfortune, been driven from the paths of virtue into the sinks of pollution; while that fact, were it such, would redound to the credit and honor of the sex—it would also serve as an additional illustration of the shameful injustice of the law by which the property of the most virtuous portion of the community is taken from them, and permitted to be wasted in prodigality and dissipation; and by which also a married woman is made a pauper or treated as a slave, rather than respected as the equal of a good husband, or the superior of a bad one.

Nor are such all the demoralizing consequences of permitting profligate husbands to possess and waste their wives' property as well as their own. By depriving their families of the means of subsistence, the subjects of public charity are multiplied and the public burdens increased. Should the almshouse in such cases not be sought as a refuge from starvation, worse consequences (if possible) than those just noted frequently ensue. The means of educating the children of profligate fathers being wasted, they are reared in ignorance; and hence predisposed to vice, they seek the company of

congenial associates, follow their examples and adopt their practices; and thus the existing law tends to multiply criminals, increase crime, to add to the number of the inmates of the house of refuge, penitentiaries and state prisons, and to inflict on community the double injury of pecuniary loss and deterioration of public morals.

I do not propose at this time to pursue this subject through all its various ramifications to its ultimate results. Enough has been said to prove the existing law to be unjust in its principle, wrong in its operation and demoralizing in its consequences. I will therefore only observe, in conclusion, that by preserving to married women their right and title to their property after as before marriage, and protecting it from waste by their husbands, much of the evil growing out of the present system may be averted or essentially diminished. The sphere for the intriguing, selfish and deceptive operations of worthless fortune hunters would be greatly circumscribed;—speculative and mercenary marriages would be less frequent, as the inducements thereto would be lessened or destroyed; and conjugal happiness and domestic harmony would be less frequently interrupted from such cause than under the present state of things. Should a worthy husband be unfortunate, or a worthless one spend his own fortune in dissipation, the wife's property, in many instances, would be the means of preventing much of the evil flowing from the existing law. It would serve or assist to maintain the family;—to keep them together—and to sustain their standing and respectability in society. It would serve or assist to prevent pauperism and save the public from the burden and expense of supporting many unfortunate and distressed families. It would serve or assist to educate the children, to prevent their being reared in gross ignorance, to lessen the chances and inducements to associate with bad company, to acquire vicious habits, and to become thereby irreclaimably debased. Thus the number of criminals and the amount of crime would become less, and one source from which is derived subjects for the house of refuge, penitentiaries and state prisons, would be diminished or destroyed, public morals improved, the condition and happiness of society meliorated and promoted.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE BILL INTRODUCED IN THE ASSEMBLY BY JUDGE HERTELL, RELATIVE TO THE RIGHTS AND PROPERTY OF MARRIED WOMEN;

An act for the protection and preservation of the rights and property of married women.

The people of the state of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows.

§ 1. That the property, both real and personal, belonging to any woman at the time of her mariage, and who shall or may become covert after the passing of this act; and also that to which she shall or may thereafter become entitled by inheritance, gift, bequest or devise, and also that which she may acquire by her own industry and management, shall of right continue to be vested in such owner, in the same manner and to the same or like extent, after, as before her coverture. Nor shall such personal estate, or any part thereof, nor the income thereof, nor shall the rents, issues or profits of the real estate of such married woman, or any part of the income thereof, inure to the husband or be vested in him during the life time of the wife by virtue of her marriage, unless by her voluntary consent, duly and properly obtained.

§ 2. That on the demise of the wife during the lifetime of her husband, he shall be entitled to such portion of the property owned and possessed by his wife at the time of her demise, in like manner and to the same or like extent, as by the laws of this state the widow is entitled to have and possess of the property possessed by her husband at the time of his demise.

§ 3. That it shall not be lawful for any married woman, who shall or may become covert after the passing of this act, directly or indirectly to assign, transfer or convey to her husband, her real or personal estate, or any part thereof, of which she shall or may be possessed in her own right, except the rents, issues, profits and income thereof or of any part thereof, unless by order of a chancellor or vice-chancellor, on application to him in writing, signed by the husband and wife, and unless the chancellor or vice-chancellor shall be satisfied on due proof that the voluntary consent of the wife

shall have been properly obtained and that the object of the proposed transfer, and the uses and purposes to which the money arising from such sale, are intended to be applied, appear to be proper, just and necessary, and beneficial to the wife.

§ 4. All property both real and personal which shall or may hereafter be transferred or conveyed to or vested in any married woman by deed, gift, bequest or devise, and also all property which shall or may be earned or acquired by any married woman by her personal labor, industry and management, and the income, rents, issues and profits of all such real and personal estate as aforesaid, shall be held and deemed to be her own separate estate and be subject to her own control and disposal, in like manner and as effectually as if she were feme sole, [a single woman.]

§ 5. That it shall be lawful for any married woman to dispose of her estate both real and personal by her last will and testament in writing to be executed in like manner and with the like formalities and restrictions as other persons are by law authorised to do.

§ 6. This law shall take effect immediately after the passage thereof. *Albany Argus, April* 24, 1837.

[The above act, which would have done more good (if possible) than all their other laws have done mischief, was, of course, too equitable to be passed, by the legislature. The annexed abstract of the yet existing relation of the tyrant and slave, is copied from the *Family Journal.*]

LEGAL RELATION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE.

The effects produced by marriage, on the legal rights of the parties are important to be known in every family.

In law husband and wife are considered as one person; and on this principle all civil duties, and disabilities rest.

The wife cannot sue in her own name.

If she suffers injury or wrong in her person or property, she can with her husband's aid and concurrence prosecute for redress; but the husband must always be the plaintiff. In criminal cases, however, the relation assumes a new form. The wife may, in criminal cases be prosecuted and punished.

The wife can make no contract with the husband, nor the husband with the wife. This disability is involved in the first principle which makes them legally one. But they may contract, through the agency of trustees, the wife being under the protection of the husband.

All contracts made between them before marriage, are of course dissolved on that event.

The husband cannot convey lands or rent estates to his wife directly; but he may settle them on her through a trusteeship. The wife may release her dower to his grantee. As it respects the bequest, the husband can always devise real estate to his wife.

Upon marriage, the husband becomes possessed of all right and title to her property, except her right of dower, and at the same time he becomes liable for all her debts, and must fulfil all her contracts made prior to the union.

If the wife die before the husband, and there be no issue, her heirs succeed to her real estate.

But in case of issue, the husband remains in possession of her lands during his life time only; and at his demise they go to the heirs of his wife.

All debts due to the wife become after marriage the property of the husband, who becomes invested with power to sue on bond, note, or any other obligation whatever, to his own and exclusive use. The powers of discharge and assignment and change of securities, are of course involved in the leading principle.

If he die before the recovery of the money, or the change of securities, the wife becomes entitled to the debts in her own right.

All personal property of the wife, such as money, goods, moveables, and stocks, becomes absolutely the property of the husband upon marriage; and on his death goes to his heirs.

Property may be secured to the use of the wife, by deeds of marriage settlements, in order to secure to the wife a comfortable competence against the vicissitudes of life, or the extravagances, vices, or the cruelty of her husband.

Property may be settled on the wife after marriage by the husband, provided he be solvent at the time, and the transfer not made with a view to defraud creditors.

The wife, of course, cannot devise lands, but any personal or real estates settled upon her, in trust, she may bequeath: or any savings from property given to her separate use.

The husband is bound to provide his wife with all necessaries suited to her condition in life; and of course, becomes liable for debts contracted by her for such necessaries; but not for superfluities or extravagances.

The husband and wife cannot be witnesses against each other, in either civil or criminal cases, where the testimony has the least tendency to favor or criminate each other.

One exception to this rule exists, where the law respecting the personal safety and life of the wife, permits her to give testimony for her protection.

ADDRESS TO THE WEALTHY OF THE LAND, ON THE CHARACTER, CONDUCT, SITUATION AND PROSPECTS OF THOSE WHOSE SOLE DEPENDENCE FOR SUBSISTENCE IS ON THE LABOR OF THEIR HANDS.

By the author of Essays on the public charities of Philadelphia.

"The appalling case of seamstresses, employed on coarse work, and that of spoolers, 'will a tale unfold,—to harrow up the souls' of all those endowed with feelings of humanity.

Coarse shirts, and duck pantaloons, are frequently made for eight and ten cents. The highest rate in the United States, with two highly honorable exceptions, which I shall notice presently, is twelve and a half cents. Women free from the encumbrance of children, in perfect health, and with constant uninterrupted employment, cannot, by the testimony of ladies of the first respectability, who have fully scrutinized the affair, make more than nine shirts per week, working from twelve to fifteen hours per day, and possessing considerable expertness. Those encumbered with children, or in indifferent health, or inexpert, cannot make more than six or seven. They are moreover, as I have already stated, very partially employed. But laying aside all the various disadvantages and drawbacks, and placing the circumstances in the most favorable point of light, let us consider the case of

a woman in perfect health, without children, and with uninterrupted employment—and see the result of her painful labors, and how little attention is paid to the awful denunciation against those that "*grind the faces of the poor.*"

Nine shirts per week—1,12½ Per annum,		$58,50
Rent at 50 cents,	26,00	
Clothes, suppose,	10,00	
Fuel per week, say 15 cents,	7,80	
Soap, candles, &c, 4 cents,	2,08	
Remain for food and drink 24 cents per week, or about 3½ cents per day!!!!	12,62	
		$58,50

But suppose the woman to have one or two children; to work for ten cents; to be a part of the time unemployed—say one day in each week—and to make, of course, six, but say seven shirts.

7 shirts, or 70 cents per week, is per annum		$36,40
Rent, fuel, soap, candles, &c, as before,	$45,88	
Deficit,	9,48	
		$36 40

Such is the hideous, the deplorable state of a numerous and interesting portion of the population of our cities in the most properous country in the world! And be it noted, to the discredit of the wealthy portion of the nation, of both sexes, particularly the ladies, that this subject has for three years been pressed on the public attention in almost every shape and form, without exciting a single efficient effort in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia—I will not say, to remedy or alleviate this horrible state things—but even to inquire into it, and to ascertain whether it was or was not remediless! It is impossible to regard this apathy without exciting the utmost astonishment.

I have not lightly thrown a higher degree of censure on the ladies in this case, than on the gentlemen. It was peculiarly the cause of the former. Their sex are "ground to the earth," and it was the peculiar duty and province of the ladies to stand forth in their defence. In such a holy cause of humanity their efforts could not have failed of success. They might readily have stimulated their fathers, brothers, husbands and cousins, to meet and devise some plan to miti-

gate sufferings, which drive numbers of unfortunate women to DESTRUCTION—to ruin here, and perhaps hereafter. Half the zeal, the effort that they make in other causes, not calling so loudly for their interference, would have sufficed to render the defence of those oppressed women fashionable. But they have looked on with calm indifference. Application on the subject has been made in Philadelphia and New York, personally or by letter, to above fifty ladies in each city—and every one of them expressed deep sympathy for the sufferers, but the sympathy was barren and unproductive.

In speaking of the effect on some of those unfortunate women, to drive them to licentious courses, I ought to use the strongest language the subject will admit of, in order to make a deep impression on the reader, somewhat commensurate with the magnitude of the evil, and the enormity of the oppression under which they groan. A due consideration of their actual situation, and the gloomy prospects before them, would lead to anticipate such a result. Beset on the one side by poverty and wretchedness—with scanty and poor fare—miserable lodgings—clothing inferior in quality and often in quantity—without the most distant hope of melioration of condition by a course of honest and unremitting industry; and on the other side, the allurements of present enjoyments—comfortable apartments—fine dress, with a round of pleasures: all these held out by vice and crime to entice them from the paths of virtue, is it wonderful that many of them fall victims, and enter on the "broad path that leads to destruction?" Is not the trial almost too severe for poor human nature? Let those who pass a heavy censure on them, and are ready exultingly to cry out, with the Pharisee in the gospel, "Thank God, we are not like one of these," ponder well what might have been their conduct in similar circumstances.

But that this is too often the result, does not depend on an elaborate process of reasoning, which, notwithstanding its plausibility, might lead to erroneous conclusions. We have the evidence of various citizens, whose opportunities duly qualify them to decide the question by the infallible test of facts.

But we are gravely told, that these women ought to go to service, that servants are scarce; if they would condescend

to fill that station, they might have comfortable homes; abundance of good food; light labor, and high wages.

On the subject of servants, I wish to offer a few observations, which, I am well aware, will be unpopular, and of course condemned by many. But, fully convinced as I am of their truth and justice, I risk that consequence. No man is fit to write for the public, who can be deterred from a free and bold expression of his sentiments, because they are likely to be unpalatable.

That there are as many servants as there are places for them, I am persuaded; and if half the classes of seamstresses and spoolers were at once converted into servants, there would be as great a redundance of this class, as there are now of the others. I do not deny that there are bad servants, and many of them. But are there not harsh and unreasonable masters and mistresses? Surely it would be miraculous, if the twenty-eight thousand housekeepers in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, were all immaculate, and treated their servants with propriety. Those that are harsh, difficult to please, and use their servants ill, are as well known among that class as a dishonest merchant or trader is known on 'Change. Such persons can rarely procure good servants. These know their own value, are high minded, and will not go to places where they are likely to meet with harsh or improper treatment. Of course, masters or mistresses of this description are often without servants, and when they do procure them, are constantly changing, constantly complaining, and bringing discredit, as far as their testimony goes, on the whole class. Fifty persons of this description will do more to disparage the character of servants, than one thousand who have good ones, can do to defend them. The latter never make their servants a topic for the entertainment of their company. They are satisfied to enjoy the advantages without proclaiming them. Whereas those who are annoyed by bad servants make their sufferings a pregnant subject of conversation. I well know I am treating upon delicate ground, but I meet the consequences unhesitatingly. Masters and mistresses are too apt to expect perfection in their servants, and to make no allowance for small faults, never taking into consideration their own imperfections. This is the source of three-fourths of all the discomforts that arise in the intercourse between

masters and servants. All trivial errors, and indeed, all errors resulting from inadvertency, ought to be overlooked, or very gently rebuked. This is a plain, simple rule, the observance of which would prevent most of those changes, which are among the chief causes of the complaints of bad servants. How often does it happen, that a trivial fault, resulting from a pardonable inadvertence, which ought to be overlooked, produces a serious quarrel, which occasions the loss of a faithful servant, who has been in the family for years! A sharp and rough rebuke produces a pert and hasty and impertinent reply—warning is given on one side or the other; and both parties, when too late, regret the petulance and peevishness which led to the separation, equally disadvantageous and uncomfortable to both.

Among the class of persons depending on sewing and spooling, there is a large proportion of aged widows, who are wholly unfit for service, and there are among them many young widows, with two or three small children, who are as dear to them as theirs are to the rich—whom, of course, they cannot bear to part with; and whom their wages as servants, would not enable them to support at nurse.

The pernicious consequences of the inadequate wages paid the women of the classes in question, is strikingly displayed by the state of the out-door paupers in the city of Philadelphia. Of four hundred and ninety-eight females, there are

Seamstresses,	142
Washerwomen,	62
Spoolers,	28
Shoe Binders,	10
	242

Being nearly one half of the whole number. There are four hundred and six widows.

It may excite wonder how the seamstresses, spoolers, &c, are able to support human nature, as their rent absorbs above two-fifths of their miserable earnings. The fact is, they generally contrive to raise their rent by begging from benevolent citizens, and of course their paltry earnings go to furnish food and clothing.

It is frequently asked—what remedy can be found for the enormous and cruel oppression experienced by females em-

ployed as seamstresses on coarse work, spoolers, &c. While these classes are so much more numerous than the demand for their services requires, a complete remedy for the evil, is, I am afraid, impracticable. I venture to suggest a few palliatives.

1. Public opinion—a powerful instrument—ought to be brought to bear on this subject. All honorable members of society, male and female, ought to unite in denouncing those who "grind the faces of the poor," by taking female labor without a compensation at least adequate for the support of human existence. The pulpit ought to unite in this crusade against a crying injustice, productive of such distressing consequences.

2. Let the employment of females be multiplied as much as possible. They are admirably calculated for various occupations from which they are at present, in a great degree, excluded, more especially shop-keeping in retail stores.

3. The poorer class ought to have exclusively the business of white-washing and other low employments, now monopolized by men.

4. Let the Provident Societies, intended to furnish employment for women in winter, be munificently supported, and let those societies give fair and liberal wages, following the laudable example of the Imperial Humane Society of Baltimore.

5. Let the ladies have some of the poor women, who are half starved, making coarse shirts at six, eight and ten cents each, taught fine needle work, mantua making, millinery, clear starching, quilting, &c. There is always a great want of persons in these branches.

6. Let schools be opened for instructing poor women in cooking. Good cooks are always scarce.

7. Schools for young ladies, and infant schools, ought, with few exceptions, to be taught by females; who ought to be regularly educated for those important branches, which are peculiarly calculated for their sex, and which would afford excellent occupation for the daughters of reduced families.

8. Ladies, who can afford it, ought to give out their sewing and washing, and pay fair prices. Let them display their economy in any other department than in one which has a tendency to distress and pauperize deserving persons of their own sex.

9. In the towns in the interior of the state, and in those in the western states, there is generally a want of females as domestics, seamstresses, &c, &c, and in factories, as spoolers, spinners, and weavers. It would be a most meritorious approbation of a part of the superfluous wealth of the rich, to provide for sending some of the superabundant poor females of our cities to those places.

10. To crown the whole, let ladies who lead the fashion, take up the cause of these poor women, con amore. It is a holy cause. They may with moderate exertions, render it fashionable to endeavor to rescue from unmerited and cruel sufferings, oppressed, forlorn and neglected classes, as precious, I emphatically repeat, in the eye of heaven, as the most exalted and high-minded among themselves.

Other palliatives might be devised, were public attention directed to the subject in any degree proportioned to its importance.

"I conclude these essays, by stating in brief, the points which I undertook to prove, and which, I flatter myself, I have fully proved—

1. That the wages of laborers on canals and turnpikes, of hodmen, &c, &c, are barely sufficient, if they have families (as the greater number of them have) to support them, when fully employed—and that therefore, in case of sickness, or want of employment, they must depend in a greater or less degree, on public or private aid.

2. That the wages of seamstresses, employed on common work, of spoolers, &c, &c, are inadequate for their support, even if fully employed and unencumbered with children.

3. That of course, when not fully employed, or when burdened with children, they must necessarily be in a state of constant pauperism.

4. That such a state of things, in a properous country—"a land flowing with milk and honey,"—is a national disgrace, and calls loudly for a remedy, at least for some mitigation of the evil.

5. That the exorbitant increase of poor rates in England, is the result of the great improvements of machinery, whereby a large portion of the operatives are thrown out of employment, and wages are most immoderately reduced.

6. That this evil, sufficiently oppressive and burdensome to the community in itself, is immensely aggravated by the manufacturers and farmers iniquitously drawing a portion of the wages of their work people from the poor rates.

7. That the countries which have no poor laws, are subject to oppressive burdens, probably not inferior to those of the English, but in an other form, that is, by mendicity.

8. That mendicants generally levy contributions on the humane and charitable, to three or four times the amount that would support an equal number of paupers, either in almshouses or at their own dwellings.

Philadelphia, May 19th, 1831. MATTHEW CAREY.

[Among the numerous females, whose talents and goodness have shone conspicuous, in spite of the universal custom and prejudice that depresses their sex, may be mentioned Protogenia, Penelope, Cornelia, Arria, Aspasia, Sappho, Portia, Plautina, Zenobia, Paulina, Corinna, Joan of Arc, Isabella, Johanna of Naples, Queen Elizabeth, the Catharines of Russia, Madames De Sevigne, Dacier, De Stael, De Genlis, Roland, Cambon, Campan, Guion, Cabarus Tallien, Misses Charlotte Corday, H. M. Williams, Mary Wolstoncraft, Hannah More, Angelica Kauffman, Mrs. Siddons, Griffiths, Barbauld, Dobson, Carter, Chapone, Smith, Inchbald, Leaper, Madan, Masters, Monk, Philips, Rowe, Duchess of New Castle, Seward, Hall, Lee, Burney, Sherwood, Parkes, Shelley, Sigourney, Priscilla Wakefield, Mrs. Montague, Morgan, C. Macauley Graham, Robinson, Hemans, Rawson, Marcet, Loudon, Paulina, Crawford, Somerville, Jameson, Austin, Miss Edgeworth, Misses Porters, Jane, Ann and Adelaide Taylor, Mrs. Radcliff, Sherwood, Mary Howitt, Miss Gould, Sedgwick, Hamilton, Mrs. Fry, Wright Darusmont, Willard, Miss Fanny Kemble, Angelica Grimke, Leslie, Landon, Mitford, and Martineau.

See also, Plutarch "On the virtues of Woman." Alexander's "History of Women." Count Segur's "Women, their Condition and Influence." "Female Biography," 3 vols. 8vo. "Noble deeds of Women." Madame Junot's "Celebrated Women." Mrs. Childs "Ladies' Library." "Equality of the Sexes," by Sarah Grimke, &c.]

CHRIST'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain; and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherwith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and

put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you, That who-

soever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shall perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King: neither shalt thou swear by thy head; because thou canst not make one hair white or black: but let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore, when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do, in the synagogues, and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet; and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Moreover, when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one,

and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; yet I say unto you, That even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? (for after all these things do the Gentiles seek;) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye? Thou hyprocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom, if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?

or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him? Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because straight is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell: and great was the fall of it.—*Matt. chap.* V, VI, VII.

THE END.